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ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

THE

PERSAE

OF

AESCHYLUS.

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND A MAP.

BY

A. O. PRICKARD, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

ἔχει δὴ σὺντα τὰς ἀρχὰς Ἀἰσχύλου.

London:

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1879

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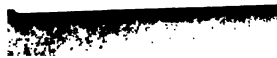
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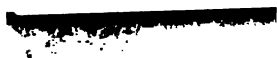
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PREFACE.

Though this is not a critical edition, the text has been carefully revised, and the editor has endeavoured to call attention to every passage where the reading given differs from that of the Medicean MS. otherwise than in points of accent, orthography, or punctuation, shewing to whom the alteration is due. His information as to the readings of the MSS. is derived from Hermann's edition of Aeschylus and from Merkel's transcript of the Medicean MS. This MS. has been referred to by its usual symbol M; others are mentioned only in general terms. In the numeration of lines, and doubtless in many other points, Dindorf's Oxford edition of 1852 has been followed. The Scholia are quoted from Dindorf's Oxford edition.

. In the notes the editor has aimed at interpreting as simply and clearly as was in his power

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the words of Aeschylus; passing over no difficulties which might interfere with the proper understanding of the poet, and raising no questions which would lead into mere digression. He has frequently felt the difficulty, peculiar perhaps to this play, that whereas the language is clear and forcible, and for many readers requires no interpretation, on the other hand the full power of the poet can hardly be felt or brought out but by one who is both an historian and an oriental scholar. Readers should of course have at hand the history of Herodotus, a few extracts from whose wonderful pages will be found in the Introduction and Notes; while Prof. Rawlinson's volumes will supply much information as to the peoples of the East. But, after every assistance has been obtained, it will remain true, though it may be a truism to say it, that the meaning of Aeschylus is to be had only from the text of his writings.

A simple analysis of the several scenes of the play has been introduced from time to time into the notes, according to the plan adopted (from Klausen) by the late Professor Conington in his edition of the *Choephoros* (see his preface p. vi.). A map illustrative of the Battle of Salamis has been inserted, having been, by the kind per-

mission of Mr Murray, reduced from that given in Grote's *History of Greece*.

The editor has frequently referred to Mr Paley's works; but he would be very sorry to be understood as limiting his obligations to the instances in which he has expressed them. He has throughout derived great assistance from an edition of the play by the late W. S. Teuffel (Leipzig, 1875), one very modest in outward form, but full of varied learning and marked by sound sense and judgment on every difficult question. To the Lexicon of Mr Linwood, whose recent loss we have also to mourn, he has owed very much.

He has to thank the Rev. Edwin Hatch, Vice-Principal of St Mary Hall, for permission to use a still unpublished translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* by his brother the late Rev. W. M. Hatch, Fellow of New College, and several private friends for valuable help and suggestions.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the year 486 B.C., four years after the Battle of Marathon, Darius king of Persia died, having shewn himself in a reign of thirty-six years a wise and strong ruler; and having, two great failures notwithstanding, one the expedition against Athens, the other that against Scythia, done much to consolidate the Empire of the East and to perfect its administration. One of the last acts of his life had been to settle a dispute among his sons as to the succession by preferring Xerxes, whom Atossa daughter of Cyrus had borne to him since his own accession to the throne, to elder sons borne by another wife. This decision was due partly to the position of Atossa, the only one probably of Darius' wives who was called his queen, partly to the fact that Xerxes was through her a direct descendant of Cyrus the founder of the Persian monarchy. Xerxes at the time of his coming to the throne cannot have been much less than thirty years old¹.

¹ See Herod. ix. 108.



Ever since the news of Marathon had made the anger of Darius burn more fiercely than before against the Athenians, preparations had been on foot for a fresh campaign. Athens was to be the main object of attack, and through Athens Greece; against such an enemy the Persians knew that their full fighting-power must be put forth, and so vast were the levies and the stores required that the whole of Asia was for three whole years stirred to its depths. The revolt of Egypt did not divert the king from his purpose, and he was on the point of undertaking both wars at once when death stayed his hand altogether.

Xerxes was at first by no means eager for the expedition against Greece; but was persuaded to undertake it by some of his counsellors, especially Mardonius, and by certain Greeks then living in banishment in Persia, who plied him with prophecies and oracles which seemed to promise success. Thus it came to pass that after reducing Egypt to obedience, and spending four more years in preparations, he was able in the autumn of B.C. 481 to concentrate his land-army at Sardis, and in the spring of the following year (B.C. 480) to move forward against Athens.

The host which was now set in motion was one the like of which the world, so far as Greek historians could speak, had never seen. "What people of Asia," says Herodotus¹, "did not Xerxes lead against Greece,

¹ vii. 21.

or what water was there which did not fail them in the drinking, save only the great rivers! For some were set to provide the ships, others had been arrayed among the foot-soldiers, of others cavalry, of others transports were required for the general movement; others again had to find ships of war for the bridges, others provisions and ships." And the careful Thucydides speaks of the Persian war as the greatest which the world had so far known. Of the actual number history is almost afraid to speak. When Xerxes numbered his troops at Doriscus in Thrace, the land-army was found to contain one million seven hundred thousand men, coming from some scores of countries, differing in armour, in dress, in language, and in manners, from India on the East to Thrace and Scythia on the West and North. The fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels, furnished by the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and others, amongst whom the Ionians of Asia Minor, bringing a hundred ships, must be specially noticed; doubtless they served unwillingly against their kinsmen, a fact to which Aeschylus would seem more than once to draw attention. There were of course no Persian ships, but on board each vessel were thirty soldiers, either Persians, Medes or Sacans. The native leaders, even in the case of the naval contingents, were often superseded by Persians, and the general command of the fleet was entrusted to four Persians, two of whom were sons of Darius. The total number of the land



and sea forces is reckoned by Herodotus at nearly two millions and a half, making with camp-followers a grand total of upwards of five millions of men. It is probable that some of the items in his calculation, and notably that of the camp-followers, are much above the mark; but after allowance has been made for exaggeration, the words of the historian quoted above are amply justified, and this vast expedition was and is without a parallel in the recorded history of war.

Two preliminary works ordered by Xerxes are worthy of special notice, the Canal across the promontory of Mount Athos, and the bridging of the Hellespont. The former work, the remains of which are still visible, took three years in the doing; it was undertaken ostensibly because of the loss of some ships on that coast in the previous expedition, really, as Herodotus thinks, out of the pride of Xerxes' heart, and in order that he might leave something to posterity by which to remember him. The bridge over the Hellespont, though really necessary for the passage of the army, and in fact a repetition of the device by which Darius had crossed the Bosphorus in his Scythian expedition, seems to have profoundly stirred the Greek imagination. Taken together these two great works seem well to exhibit the lord of millions pitting himself against nature, and chafing at the restraints imposed by her; and it did not need the pettier insults said to have been offered by him to the elements, the

stripes and the fetters, (though oriental scholars find nothing improbable in these as coming from such a monarch¹;) to affront a Greek's sense of order and moderation, and to enable him to trace in the downfall which followed the proper consequence of presumption and of an exaltation greater than man's condition allows.

Step by step Herodotus follows the movements of the mighty armament in its three months march to Athens, delayed but not arrested by the ever-glorious defence of Thermopylae, and ending in the capture of the city of Athens and the destruction by fire of her temple. Not so well fared those Persians who had turned out of their way to pillage the temple of Apollo at Delphi; for the God declared that he was able "to protect his own" and the assailants were repulsed with much loss and in mortal fear.

Meanwhile the Greek fleet had arrived at Salamis from the north of Euboea, where it had fought several engagements with the barbarians, sufficient to prove the great superiority of Greeks to barbarians, had that been in question, but indecisive in point of actual result. The Athenian ships had first stationed themselves off their own coast, and had transported the women and children to places of safety, Salamis, Aegina, or Troezen. They had then returned to their place in the fleet, being some two-thirds of the whole number of a little over three hundred sail. The bar-

¹ See Rawlinson's note on Herod. vii. 85.



barians soon followed, and occupied the harbours of Athens. Such were the positions of the two forces on the day before the battle of Salamis, which took place on one of the later days, perhaps the 20th, of September B.C. 480.

Into the details of that great battle we need not now enter, for they are given clearly and fully in the text of Aeschylus. But we must not fail to call attention to the judgment of Herodotus, deliberately and almost unwillingly given, that nothing but the determination of the Athenians to withstand Xerxes there could possibly have saved Greece. Had they gone over to the enemy or had they followed those advisers who wished them to leave Athens and found a new home, no effectual resistance could have been made by sea, and all the efforts of the Lacedaemonians to defend the isthmus against the advance of the land army would then have been useless. To Athens then belongs the honour of having insisted that an issue should be taken here, and of all Athenians chiefly to Themistocles. His courage had taught them to take good heart from the very words of an oracle which had seemed to others to foretell destruction, his sound military sense had assured him that the "wooden wall" which, according to the same oracle, Zeus had granted to Athene "to remain ever safe from besiegers," meant nothing else than the ships of Athens; his forethought had provided that public money should be spent on ships, nominally to be used against Aegina, really in view of the greater danger which he

knew to be at hand. And when the Greek fleet had reached Salamis, and the Persians held the harbours of Athens, his voice had been persistently raised in the council of captains, with argument and with entreaty, to induce the Peloponnesians and other allies not to trust to the futile device of blocking the isthmus against the invader; but to abide a sea-battle while their force was united, and while they could have the great advantage of fighting in the confined waters of the Strait. At last, when argument and entreaty seemed likely to fail in breaking through the dull weight of resistance, he resorted to the desperate device of sending a message from the Athenian commander to the king of Persia, warning him that some of the allies meditated flight, and that he would do well to surround them. This advice was taken so effectually in the night preceding the battle that the Athenians had their wish, and the allies had no choice on the morrow but to fight in the straits with an enemy of four times their own number. One incident of this part of the narrative must not be passed over. Three years before the Athenians had ostracised Aristides the son of Lysimachus, a man of singularly lofty character, whose political and private principles were such as to endear him to Aeschylus, but the steady opponent of Themistocles. On the morning of the battle he arrived from Aegina, and calling Themistocles out of the council spoke a few frank words, assuring him that their rivalry to-day

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could only be one as to which should work best for their common country. He then told him that the Greeks were surrounded, and that he himself had barely escaped the blockading vessels. Themistocles explained to him how this had come about, and begged him to carry the news to the captains, who perhaps would believe it better if it came from him. Thus it came about that Aristides the Just announced to the allied captains that they must needs fight that day, being made as it were a confederate in the successful device of his rival Themistocles.

The defeat of the Persian navy took place under the eye of the king, who from a throne placed on "the rocky brow" of Mount Aegaleos had watched with close and passionate interest every turn of the engagement. When he saw the disastrous result, he resolved, after some deliberation, to make the best of his way home with the bulk of his land army. Mardonius, who saw his own danger if he returned home with an expedition which had been undertaken through his advice and which had failed, was allowed to choose 300,000 of the best troops and to remain behind in Greece. The king returned, following the same route by which he had come, finding himself beset at every turn by starvation and disaster; and after forty-five days of misery, reached with a mere fragment of his army the bridge over the Hellespont, which, had the Greeks followed up their victory according to the first energetic advice of Themistocles,

would have been destroyed long before his arrival. As it was he reached Asia in safety.

During the winter Mardonius remained in winter-quarters in Thessaly, and endeavoured by sending an ambassador to Athens, one Alexander a Macedonian, to induce her to submit to the king. The answer was unhesitating: "Tell Mardonius that the Athenians say thus: so long as the sun shall follow the same path which now he goes, we will never come to terms with Xerxes." To the Lacedaemonians, who had encouraged them in this resistance, they explained their motives. How could they make terms with an invader who had burned the temples and the images of their gods; how could they desert the cause of Hellas, in whose common language and altars they shared? No, so long as a single Athenian survived, they would never come to terms with Xerxes. The month of July saw the Persians again in possession of Athens; but the city was deserted, its inhabitants having again taken refuge in Salamis on the invader's approach. Help from Sparta, which had been unaccountably tardy in coming, at last was reported to be on its way, and Mardonius slowly fell back into Boeotia. Here early in September a great and decisive battle was fought on ground between Plataea and the river Asopus. By far the largest contingent of the Greek force was that of the Lacedaemonians; but eight thousand Athenians, commanded by Aristides, also fought well. Mardonius fell, and so

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great was the butchery of the Persians that of 300,000 no more than 3000 were left alive. This was exclusive of a force of 40,000, whom Artabazus had led homewards, avoiding the battle, and a fraction of whom reached Asia in safety. On the same day, towards evening, at Mycale on the coast of Asia Minor, the sailors of the Greek fleet wrought another great carnage of the barbarians. As they were advancing upon the enemy a herald's wand had been seen lying upon the beach, and a strange unaccountable rumour had passed through their ranks: each man told his neighbour that the Greeks had fought a battle in Boeotia, and had defeated the army of Mardonius. The historian refers this rumour to the direct inspiration of heaven, willing to encourage the Greeks against their godless foe. In what sense his words were true we need not now ask: certain it is that the danger which had for a whole generation threatened Athens and Hellas with so mighty a ruin had now been dispersed—to borrow the eloquent word of the orator speaking of a similar but less gigantic evil of later times—"like a cloud."

To us, looking back over more than twenty centuries, this spectacle of Asia and Hellas locked in long and deadly conflict is one of strange wonder and interest. That it seemed no ordinary time to the men who lived in it we cannot doubt. The dullest mind must have understood the vastness of the crisis, the most common-place Athenian must have felt the

of facing the foemen who swarmed about his d, no barbarians, though the Greek language called tl so, but possessing a civilisation and a discipline of tl own, whose speech seemed to him as the twi of birds, whose flowing dress, solemn E b ng, and views of religion and of life v so di rent from anything found among the Hellenic nations, even among those whose home was Asiatic. How deeply a powerful and enquiring mind was stirred by the events of his childhood and of the years before his birth we may read through all the pages of Herodotus. In the solemn appeals of the orators generations afterwards to the memory of the men who fought at Marathon, in the language of Aristophanes as to the example set by the same men, in the proud claim of the Athenians to have saved Hellas at Salamis by their two hundred ships and by the general who forced the battle "in the Strait" we have abundant proof that the people was not un-mindful or ungrateful¹. Yet it may strike us as remarkable that in all the pages of Athenian poetry, then so near its zenith, so little record is found of either the glorious or the picturesque memories of these times. Probably the cause is to be found in that power of the Greek mind which enabled it to turn away from the events of real life when it chose,

¹ The victory of Marathon (not that of Salamis) was commemorated by painting in the Poecile, by sculpture on the Acropolis of Athens. (See Wordsworth's *Greece*, p. 174.)

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and to be absorbed in what was ideal. To this the faculty possessed by the Italian of vividly presenting to himself what had once really happened stands in strong contrast'. At least the impressions produced by that long duel between Rome and Carthage seem to meet us in Roman poets at every turn. The victorious career of Hannibal "the Scourge" through the cities of Italy, the despairing words in which he announced that victory had left him for ever, the multitude of the troops which he poured into Italy,

"Ad confingendum venientibus undique Poenis,"

the elephants which made part of his train, the vastness of the prize at issue, no less than universal empire by land and sea, long dwelt in the imagination of Romans. But, with one remarkable exception, there is little in extant Greek poetry to shew us a counterpart to these stirring recollections. That exception is the play of Aeschylus now before us.

The *Πέρσαι* or *Persians*, so called after the old Persian counsellors who form the chorus of the play, was first brought out, we are told, in B. C. 472, nearly eight years after the victory of Salamis, and nearly seven after that of Plataea. The Poet had fought in the battle of Marathon, as his epitaph avows:

ἄλκην δ' ἐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄσος ἄν εἶποι,
καὶ βαθυχαιρῆς Μήδος ἐπιστάμενος.

Tradition says that he also fought at Salamis; and although tradition is likely enough to be mistaken in

¹ See Prof. Sellar's *Virgil*, pp. 89, 283, &c.

such matters, this seems to be a case where the burden of proof should for once rest upon the sceptical. When Athenians had their all at stake, when their city was deserted and their families and goods moved into sanctuary, where was the veteran of Marathon to be found rather than in the crew of an Athenian trireme or among the troops who under Aristides did good service on the island of Psyttaleia? The play belongs to the middle period of the poet's dramatic career, which had begun about B. C. 500, and which closed in B. C. 458 with the production of the Oresteian trilogy two years before his death. To the same period, though later by five years, belongs the *Seven against Thebes*, a play "brimfull of war" as Aeschylus calls it in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (l. 1021), and worthily paired with the *Persae*, through which the poet claims to have "glorified a noble deed" and so taught his countrymen this lesson "always to yearn to beat their enemies." The complete trilogy is said to have consisted of the *Phineus*, *Persae*, *Glaucus* (*Pontius* or *Potnieus*), with the *Prometheus*, a satyric drama. As we know next to nothing of these pieces, and, except so far as we can argue from a single instance, nothing as to the amount of connection required between the several plays produced by a poet at one festival, we must consider the extant play wholly without reference to its companions.

The "noble deed" set forth in the *Persians* is no other than the victory of Salamis; a full account



of which, as seen by an eye-witness, it embodies. But the play covers much more than this; it gives a history of the failure of the vast and insane enterprise of Xerxes, shewing the assembled Athenians and allies how

"The man that once did sell the lion's skin
While the beast lived, was killed with hunting him."

It even looks on to the carnage of Plataea, which took place several months after the supposed time of the action of the play, and is described by way of prophecy. Yet further, it sets forth the working of that divine vengeance which overtook Xerxes for his barbaric lust of empire, his presumption, and his folly; and sent the master of millions of men back again to his own land by the same road by which he had come out, disgraced and almost unattended. Hence the scene is laid at Susa, the Persian capital, the actors and chorus are all Persians, and the events are contemplated as they affect them. No Greek is named throughout the play, though at least two deeds are recorded, to which every one in the theatre could have fitted the names of the doers. In fact the treatment of the story closely resembles that of other Greek tragedies, where the author chooses his hero from one of the great houses of which mythology tells, and shews him involved by the perversity of himself or his ancestors in the toils of calamity.

As in the *Seven against Thebes*, the plot is extremely simple; it is admirably adapted to its double

purpose, firstly, that of exhibiting the feelings of the Persians, their fear for the absent king and army, which is at the opening a mere shade of apprehension mingled with their pride, and which is afterwards intensified and passes into agony, despair, and repentance; and secondly that of introducing the narrative of Salamis, which is in spirit thoroughly epic. The persons of the play are the Chorus, twelve or fifteen Persians of great station and venerable years, who are in the absence of Xerxes left in a position of high trust; Atossa the queen-mother and regent, whose very noble character is carefully studied by Aeschylus and deserves the best attention of the reader; the ghost of Darius, a dignified and interesting personage; and Xerxes, whose petulance and helplessness are in thorough contrast to the great qualities of his father. These characters stand out in such distinct relief in Aeschylus, that it is only necessary to ask the reader to bear in mind that excellence in the delineation of character preceded elaboration of plot (an historical fact to which Aristotle bears witness), and that Aeschylus was a master of this branch of the tragic art.

As a somewhat close analysis of the text will be found among the notes in this volume, it is only necessary here to give the outline of the play in its principal divisions.

(1) *Parodos* ll. 1—64 (there is no *Prologos*); passing into (2) the *First Stasimon*, ll. 65—139, with concluding *anapaests*. The old men chaunt with pride,



beneath which the note of apprehension is clearly caught, the glories of the host which has passed over to Europe. Atossa enters in royal state.

(3) *First Episodion*, ll. 155—531. Atossa narates to the old men her dream and vision, and puts certain questions to them. A messenger enters, who being questioned, first by the Chorus, afterwards by Atossa, tells the whole story of the disaster of Salamis. Atossa retires to seek the offerings which the Chorus have advised her to make.

(4) *Second Stasimon*, ll. 532—597, a lament for the dead of Salamis.

(5) *Second Episodion*, ll. 598—632. Atossa comes forth in suppliant guise and bids the Chorus raise the hymn which is to call up Darius from his grave.

(6) *Third Stasimon*, ll. 623—680. Evocation of Darius.

(7) *Third Episodion*, ll. 681—851. The shade of Darius enters. He listens to the sad tale, gives his counsel, and foretells the disasters still in store for Persia. He disappears. Atossa also leaves the stage.

(8) *Fourth Stasimon*, ll. 852—916. Hymn on the glories of the reign of Darius.

(9) *Exodos*, l. 917—end. Enter Xerxes, who exchanges passionate lamentations with the Chorus, and at last allows himself to be escorted by them into the palace.

It would be possible to call the whole of the first Choric Ode the Parodos, or to consider ll. 598—851

as an unbroken Episode: but in fact an accurate division of this sort cannot be applied to the earlier plays of Aeschylus.

It follows from the mode of treatment adopted that there is a twofold thread of interest running through the play; there is the dramatic or ideal interest, which requires the reader to place himself at Susa, and to feel as a Persian would do; but there is also the real or patriotic interest which an Athenian could not long forget in following the turns of his country's fortunes, and which often obtrudes itself where strict art would require the first only to be present. Thus in the opening song, while the Chorus are describing the magnificent host which has crossed the Hellespont, and afterwards, professing their fear lest it should never return, we seem to hear an undercurrent of invective against this unhallowed invader of Hellas, reminding us of the denunciations by Hebrew prophets of the enemies of Israel. Sometimes the undercurrent makes itself perceptible in turns of humour or in rough, soldier-like jests barely concealed beneath the forms of poetry; sometimes in a negligence of dramatic propriety, as where Greek forms of speech or thought are ascribed to Persians, or where Persians are made to spend on the disasters of their empire a profusion of feeling which would have really been absorbed in their monarch¹.

Mr Keble, a hearty lover of Aeschylus, in his

¹ See Rawlinson on Herod. viii. 99.

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very interesting criticism of this play¹, speaks with much severity of those who see in it only derision of a conquered enemy. Assuredly no words can be too hard for those who find in a work which the character of Atossa alone would prove to be a true tragedy, "an imitation," in Plato's words², "of the best and noblest life," mere burlesque, or, worse still, elaborate irony. Yet we shall not catch the full meaning of the poet if we do not bear in mind that there is a double point of view; the ideal spectator must now place himself at Susa, and now remember that he is sitting in the theatre of Athens, with Salamis almost before his eyes. The distinctive points of pride to an Athenian; his free institutions, his simple unceremonious habits, his love of the sea, his indifference to wealth and contempt for its display, come out from time to time, as the poet touches, gravely for the most part, and always without banter, on the opposite temper in the Persians. The last scene of the play Mr Keble is himself almost inclined to surrender to the scoffers; and the poet's reputation would not suffer by its loss. No doubt the words are here comparatively immaterial, this part of the performance being left in great part to the singers, and for that reason the reader might the better spare it. The spirit of exultation with which some of the audience waited for and welcomed the entry of Xerxes and the

¹ Praelect. xvii.

² *Less*, vii. p. 817.

scene which follows can be seen in the passage of Aristophanes already quoted. The poet would have missed his patriotic purpose if he had denied them their hearty laugh at their enemy's expense, but perhaps there is no other tragic subject in dealing with which he would have thus indulged them.

It may be asked why this indirectness and remoteness of treatment is adopted, why the scene is laid at Susa, not in Greece. The question will be best answered by referring to a modern example. Shakespeare's *Henry V.* offers more than one point of comparison with the *Persians*. Like it and its fellow-play it is "brimfull of war," it too sets forth in detail a brilliant historical victory, and it is a thoroughly patriotic piece. Each play contains a vivid description of the night before the battle; and the Dauphin, with his tennis-balls and his palfrey, is no bad counterpart to Xerxes, though touched, it must be owned, with a lighter hand.

Now Shakespeare has adopted the direct method; he places the successive phases of the campaign before our eyes; his scene is laid in turn in London, at Southampton, at Harfleur, and on the field of Agincourt. This variety of treatment was quite out of the reach of Aeschylus, with his small company of actors, and under the severe limitations of Greek tragic art. But Shakespeare finds his resources insufficient, and is obliged not only to supplement them by the curious device of a chorus, but to appeal to the forbearance of



the spectators while he disgraces

"With four or five most vile and ragged fols,
Right ill disposed in brawl ridiculous,
The name of Agincourt."

The action must proceed in the imagination of his hearers—

"In the quick forge and working-house of thought—"

as well as on the stage. The interest of the play centres in the king, a nobly typical Englishman, and a hero after the poet's own heart; and is delightfully relieved by the more humorous scenes. But we do not yet see the full disadvantage under which Aeschylus is placed. *Henry V.* is thought to have been brought out in 1599, about eleven years after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Supposing that Shakespeare had written a play describing that victory so highly dramatic in its circumstances, "Britain's Salamis" as it has been called, we cannot doubt that his genius would have assured him a triumph; but how great would have been the difficulties. Not to mention that a battle by sea is a more unmanageable subject than one by land, how would he have failed to wound susceptibilities and to incur the reproach of partizanship or jealousy? Besides this, any poetical narrative of battle or siege will be likely to fall flat upon the ears of a generation whose hearts have once for all been stirred by the real rough prose of the matter. To posterity it may be matter of indifference whether Shakespeare wrote of Agincourt or of the Armada, whether Lord

Macaulay or a contemporary of Shakespeare wrote a ballad on the latter event. But enough has been said to shew how impossible it would have been for Aeschylus to describe Salamis had he followed the direct method, with his own sympathies on the side of Aristides, yet forced to glorify Themistocles, with an audience who knew too much beforehand, and were ready to hiss if any expected detail were not forthcoming, and with the severe traditional method of the stage stopping the way against him.

The relations of Poetry and History are determined by Aristotle in one of the most valuable passages of his *Poetics*¹. He there lays it down that the province of the poet is to set out, not things which have happened, but things which may happen according to the laws and probabilities of human life. It would be possible to put all the work of Herodotus into metre, and the result would still be a sort of history, not poetry. The historian must record events as they happen consecutively in time (Aristotle instances the battles of Salamis and Himera, which took place on the same day, though having no other mutual connection, an illustration perhaps curiously appropriate to our play, since it has been thought by some that the Battle of Himera was described in the *Glaucus Pontius*). Now some incidents which have once happened are nevertheless (here there is a touch of paradox) such

¹ *Poet. c. 9.* For a criticism of Aristotle's view see M. St Hilaire's Introduction to his translation of the *Poetics*.



that they may, according to the laws and probabilities of life, happen over again. If then the author can find such incidents ready to his hand, so much the better. For on the one hand his plot will rest upon a real basis of probability; on the other it will *appear* probable to his audience, because they are prepared to believe that what has happened once is likely to happen again. Therefore the tragic poet usually goes to the well-known tales of mythology, those of Oedipus or Agamemnon; had he invented such plots they might have appeared improbable; as it is, the public accepts them without demur. Comedy has no such advantage; for in it the incidents and names are both fictitious, and the author of a Comedy has to satisfy the audience that his plot is a probable one in the sense required.

The doctrine of Aristotle is summed up in his well-known saying that "Poetry deals with universal truth, History with particular." If we may venture to amend the wording, we would say that Poetry deals with *representative* or *typical* truth; for its object is not to enuntiate general axioms, but "to paint beneath the man of the moment the man of all time¹." The spirit of his remarks is well given in a sentence of an old English writer²: "Truth, narrative and past, is

¹ "Peindre sous l'homme momentané l'homme éternel." V. Hugo, 1793.

² Davenant, quoted in *Guesses at Truth*, p. 279 (ed. 1867), which see.

the idol of historians, who worship a dead thing; and Truth operative, and by effects continually alive, is the mistress of Poets, who hath not her existence in matter but in reason."

It follows that the poet who deals with actual contemporary history, as opposed to the history of a remote time or to mythology, labours under a great disadvantage, because as a narrator he is likely to be denied that liberty of treatment which is necessary to him as an artist. Aeschylus, in the case before us, avoided the difficulty firstly by looking at the Battle of Salamis from a Persian, that is, from a remote point of view, and secondly by assuming a certain liberty in dealing with historical facts.

If we turn for a moment to Herodotus, we shall find that he has sketched the situation with which our play opens with a vividness which shews how keen was his own sense of the dramatic element in history, but with a variety of detail which shews that he has collected his facts independently of the authority of Aeschylus. He gives a picturesque account of the Persian system of *dygarhēn*, by which news was forwarded by relays of couriers with wonderful speed, and which had clearly impressed the imagination of Aeschylus too, and proceeds:—

"The first message which reached Susa, telling how Xerxes held Athens, gave such great joy to the Persians left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle branches and offered sacrifices continually,



and gave themselves up to sacrificing and making holiday. But the second message which came upon them placed them in a state of such utter consternation that all rent their clothes and fell to crying and groaning without cease, laying the blame upon Mar-donius. But it was not so much in grief about their ships that the Persians did this as in fear about Xerxes himself¹."

Here, had it been possible for Aeschylus to have drawn his information from Herodotus, we should have said that in the points where he had deviated from his authority he was clearly justified. Aeschylus speaks as though the messenger who brought the bad news were the first who reached home, Herodotus speaks of an earlier one; Aeschylus makes the bearer of the bad news to Susa himself a survivor of Salamis, Herodotus makes him the last of a series of couriers posted beforehand. And, looking onwards, Aeschylus makes Xerxes arrive at Susa almost as soon as the messenger; according to Herodotus he stayed many months at Sardis, perhaps not yet despairing of a fresh expedition against Greece. Again Aeschylus, though a careful observer of Persian habits, has not, as we have seen, thought it worth while to represent the Persian people as absorbed in anxiety about the king, to the exclusion of all thought of their lands and men, though the king is everywhere upon their minds. All this serves to show how

¹ Herod. viii. 99.

care is necessary in interpreting historically this the most ancient historical document about the events of B.C. 480—479. Where Aeschylus seems to claim to speak with accuracy, for instance about the numbers of the Persian fleet, his claim should probably be allowed; in other matters the balance is rather in favour of the historian. We also see how wisely Aeschylus chose his method. The deviations from fact (assuming that Herodotus gives the true fact in each case) are all quite insignificant; but had he put on the stage the actual events of Salamis, the smallest liberty taken with history must have affected, for better or worse, the reputations of living Athenians.

A few points connected with the history of the play still require notice.

(1) The *Persae* is said to have been adapted from the *Phoenissae* of Phrynichus, which was brought out in B.C. 476 at the expense of Themistocles, and was doubtless a glorification of his services at Salamis. The chorus consisted of the wives of Phoenician sailors who served in the fleet of Xerxes. The first line of the prologue spoken by an eunuch of the court, who is making preparations at Susa for the return of Xerxes,

τίδ' ἔστι Περσῶν, τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων,

seems to be reproduced in the opening of the *Persae*. We observe, however, that Aeschylus has more artistically reserved the return of Xerxes for the end of the play. We know that Phrynichus failed in



another drama founded on historical facts, the *Μελί-
ρον ἄλασις*, and perhaps this too was no great suc-
cess, as so little has reached us of it. At any rate
Aeschylus desired to give a more vigorous and soldier-
like treatment to the events described, dispensing
with the profuse music which characterised his pre-
decessor's works, and with the excessive lamentation
which he had doubtless introduced. Aeschylus would
also wish that the deeds of Aristides on the day of
Salamis and at Plataea should not be overshadowed by
the glory of Themistocles.

(2) As has been already said, the knowledge
which we possess of the other plays said to have been
produced with the *Persae* is not sufficient to enable
us to determine their relation to it. It has been
supposed that the *Phineus* embodied certain pro-
phesies, the fulfilment of which is exhibited in the
later plays; and that the "*Glaucus Pontius*" con-
tained some account of the battle of Himera, or that
the "*Glaucus Potniensis*," if that play were the one,
contained some account of the Battle of Plataea, Potnia
being a small town between Thebes and Plataea.

(3) It is said in the *Life of Aeschylus* that the
Persae was reproduced in Sicily at the desire of
Hiero, and had a great success. Nothing is more
probable, for Aeschylus paid several visits to the
court of Hiero, and his genius was much appreciated
there. But it would be interesting to know whether
we possess the first or the second version. Those who

find it difficult to refer the passage of Aristophanes
already mentioned to the text of the play as we have
it may suppose that the later recension has reached
us. But probably this is to expect too much exact-
ness of quotation in the comic poet. Two old quota-
tions, one by Athenaeus, of words purporting to be
found in the *Persae*, but not contained in our text, do
not add very much to the evidence on the question.

(4) The absence of prologue, the simplicity of
the plot, and the general style of the composition,
bear out the alleged date of the play, and shew that it
was an earlier work than the Oresteian trilogy or the
Prometheus. The number of Epic and Ionic forms is
unusually large, as is to be expected where the Epic
or narrative element so much predominates. We may
notice the Epic particle *ἦδη*, such forms as *αλερός*, *ἔκεν*,
ἔειπ, or again as *Ἄσιγῆρις*, and the frequent omission of
the augment. (See a paper on the dialects of Greek
tragedy by Bernard Gerth, in a volume edited by
G. Curtius, Leipzig, 1868.)

The narrative of the Battle of Salamis given by
Aeschylus will be easily followed with the help of the
accompanying map. It should be understood that the
Athenians were placed on the left of the Greek line
and were immediately opposed to the Phoenicians on
the right of the Persian line. The distance from
Salamis to the mainland is not much less than a mile
at any point, but the channel is full of small rocky
islands. The distance from Psyttaleia to the nearest



point on the island of Salamis is about 800 yards. Professor Rawlinson (on Herod. VIII. 96) mentions the following as perhaps the only points in which Aeschylus supplements the narrative of Herodotus, viz: "1. That the Persian fleet was drawn up in three lines. 2. That on both sides the fleets advanced with loud cries and shouts. 3. That the Greek *right* wing advanced first. And 4. That the Greeks executed against the Persians the manoeuvre of the *περίστροφος*." In the principal features of the narrative the poet and historian are quite at one. (See however, Dean Blakeley's Excursus in the second volume of his Herodotus, where a different view is maintained.)

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.



ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Γλαῦκος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δισχύλου μύθοις ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν φησι
εἶχον τοὺς Πέρσας παρασκευασθαι. ἐκτίθησι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
δράματος ταύτης,

Τὰδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων.

ἐν ἐκείνῳ εὐνοῦχος ἐστὶν ἀγγέλλων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν τοῦ Κέρξου ἦταν,
οὗς τε θρόνους τινας τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς πατέροις. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
λογίζετο χορὸς πρεσβυτῶν. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος
ἐν τῇ τάφῳ Δαρείου· ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις Κέρξου στρατευσάμενος κατὰ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ δυνάμει πολλῆς, ἴσπων μὲν ἄμετρον ἔπαγομενος,
δὲ χιλίας διακοσίας ἑπτὰ, ἡ καὶ δεκατέσσαρας· καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐν
Ἰωνίᾳ νικηθεὶς, ναυτικῇ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίῳ, καὶ διὰ Θεσσαλίας φεύγων
ἐπαιώθη εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἰστίον δὲ ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληες τριακοσίας μόνον
εἶχον. πρώτη ἔφοδος Περσῶν ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐδυστύχησε περὶ
Ἐρέβου· δευτέρα ἐπὶ Κέρξου, περὶ Σαλαμίνας καὶ Πλαταιῶν, τοῦ
Ἰστοκλέους στρατηγοῦ ὄντος τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ βήτορος, καὶ
ἐπιτότος ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀντιτάξασθαι πρὸς τὸν Κέρξον· οὗ καὶ
ἡμίονο περιεγένοντο αὐτοῦ. ὁ Ἀπόλλων γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μαν-
θάνουσι πῶς τῶν Περσῶν περιγενήσονται εἴτε τείχη ξύλινα κατα-
σκευάσαι, καὶ οὕτω περιγενέσθαι αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τείχη ἔλεγον
εἶναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ξύλινα ἀπὸ τῶν λιθίνων· ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς
οὕτως, ἀλλὰ νῆας εἶτε ποιῆσαι, αἱ πολλὰς διὰ τῶν οἰκίων
ἐν σείζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγηδῶν Δισχύλος
φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαῦκος Ποτναῖ, Προμηθεῖ. τούτου τοῦ Κέρξου
μὲν ἦν Δαρείος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, μήτηρ δὲ Ἄγροσσα.



ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ.
ΑΓΩΣΣΑ.
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.
ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ.
ΧΕΡΖΗΣ.

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων
Ἑλλάδ' ἐς αἶαν πιστὰ καλεῖται,
καὶ τῶν ἀφνεῶν καὶ πολυχρύσων
ἐδράνων φύλακες, κατὰ πρεσβείαν
οὐς αὐτὸς ἀναξ Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς
Δαρειογενῆς
5
εἴλετο χώρας ἐφορεύειν.
ἀμφὶ δὲ νόστῳ τῷ βασιλείῳ
καὶ πολυχρύσου στρατιᾶς ἤδη
κακόμαντις ὄγαν ὀρσολοπεῖται
10
θυμὸς ἔσωθεν
πᾶσα γὰρ ἰσχὺς Ἀσιατογενῆς
οἴχωκε, νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαδζει
κοῦτε τις ἀγγελος οὔτε τις ἵππευς
15
ἄστῳ τὸ Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖται
οἶτε τὸ Σούσων ἠδ' Ἐκβατάνων
καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Κίσιων ἔρκος
προλιπόντες ἔβαν,
οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἵππων, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ναῶν,
πέζοι τε βᾶδην
πολέμου στίφος παρέχοντες
20
οἷος Ἀμίστρης ἠδ' Ἀρταφρένης



καὶ Μεγαβήτης ἡδ' Ἀστιάσης,
 τῶν Περσῶν,
 βασιλῆς βασιλέως ὑποχοὶ μεγάλου
 σούνται, στρατιᾶς πολλῆς ἔφοροι,
 τοξοδάμαντές τ' ἡδ' ἵπποβάται,
 φοβεροὶ μὲν ἰδεῖν, δεινοὶ δὲ μάχην
 ψυχῆς εὐτλήμονι δόξῃ.
 Ἄρτεμβάρης θ' ἵππιохάρμης,
 καὶ Μασίστης, ὃ τε τοξοδάμας
 ἐσθλὸς Ἰμαῖος, Φαρανάκης θ',
 ἵππων τ' ἐλατήρ Σωσθάνης.
 ἄλλους δ' ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων
 Νεῖλος ἐπεμψεν Σουσισκάνης,
 Πηργασταγῶν Αἰγυπτογενῆς,
 ὃ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μίμφιδος ἄρχων
 μέγας Ἀρσάμης, τὰς τ' ἀγγύλους
 Θήβας ἐπέπων Ἀριόμαρδος,
 καὶ ἐλειοβάται ναῶν ἐρέται
 δεινοὶ πλήθος τ' ἀνάριθμοι.
 ἀβροδιαίτων δ' ἔπεται Λυδῶν
 ὄχλος, οἳ τ' ἐπίπαν ἠπειρογενὲς
 κατέχουσιν ἔθνος, τοὺς Μιτρογάθης
 Ἄρκτηύς τ' ἀγαθὸς, βασιλῆς δίοποι,
 καὶ πολύχρυσοι Σάρδεις ἐπόχους
 πολλοῖς ἔρμασιν ἐξορμαῖσιν,
 δίρρυμά τε καὶ τρίρρυμα τέλη,
 φοβερὰν ὄψιν προσιδέσθαι.
 στεῦνται δ' ἱεροῦ Τυάλου πελάται,
 ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι,
 Μάρδων, Θάρυβις, λόγχης ἄκμονες,

καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ Μυσοί· Βαβυλῶν δ'
 ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον
 πέμπει σύρδην, ναῶν τ' ἐπόχους,
 καὶ τοξουλεφὸς λήματι πιστοῦς
 τὸ μαχαιροφόρον τ' ἔθνος ἐκ πάσης
 Ἀσίας ἔπεται,
 δειναῖς βασιλέως ὑπὸ πομπαῖς.
 τοιούδ' ἀνθος Περσίδος αἶας
 οἴχεται ἀνδρῶν,
 οὓς περὶ πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσιᾶτις
 θρέψασα πόθῳ στένεται μαλερῶ,
 τοκέες δ' ἄλοχοί θ' ἡμερολεγδὸν
 τείνοντα χρόνον τρομέονται.
 πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἡδὴ στρ. α'. 65
 βασιλεῖος στρατὸς εἰς ἀντίπορον γέλτονα χώραν,
 λινοδέσμῳ σχεδίᾳ πορθμὸν ἀμείψας
 Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἑλλάς,
 πολύγομφον ὕδισμα ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν αἰχῆνι πόν-
 του.
 πολυάνδρου δ' Ἀσίας θούριος ἄρχων ἀντ. α'. 73
 ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χθόνα ποιμανόριον θεῖον ἐλαύνει 75
 διχόθεν, πεζονόμοις ἐκ τε θαλάσσης
 ἐχυροῖσι πεποισῶς 79
 στιφυλοῖς ἐφέταις, χρυσογόνου γενεᾶς ἰσόθεος φῶς.
 κνάνεον δ' ὄμμασι λεύσσων φονίου δέργμα δρᾶ-
 κωτος, στρ. β.
 πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναῖτας, Σύριόν θ' ἔρμα δικάων,
 ἐπάγει δουρικλύτοις ἀνδράσι τοξόδαμον Ἀρη. 85
 δόκιμος δ' οὔτις ὑποστὰς μεγάλῳ βέματι φω-
 τῶν ἀντ. β. 87



ἔχυροῖς ἔρκεσιν εἰργειν ἄμαχον κύμα θαλάσ-
σας

ἀπρόσοιστος γὰρ ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ἀλκίφρων
τε λαός.

δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλί-
ξει;

τίς ὁ κραιπνῶ ποδὶ πηδήματος εὐπετέος ἀνά-
σων;

φιλόφρων γὰρ παρασαίνει βροτῶν εἰς ἄρκνας ἄτα-
τόθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ θνατῶν ἀλύξαντα φυγεῖν.

θεύθεν γὰρ κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκράτησεν τὸ παλαιόν,
ἐπέσκηψε δὲ Πέρσαις

πολέμους πυργοδοαίετους

διέπειν ἵππιохάρμας τε κλόνους, πόλειν τ' ἀνα-
στάσεις.

ἔμαθον δ' εὐρυπόροιο θαλάσσης πολυαινωμένα
πνεύματι λάβρῃ

ἔσορᾶν πόντιον ἄλσος,
πίστυνοι λεπτοδόμοις πείσμασι λαοπόροις τε με-
χαναῖς.

ταῦτά μου μελαγχίτων

φρῆν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ,

ὃς Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος

τοῦδε, μὴ πόλις πύθη-

ται κένανδρον μέγ' ἄστου Σουσίδος,

καὶ τὸ Κισσίων πόλισμ'

ἀντιδουκὸν ἔσσεται,

ὃς τοῦτ' ἔπος γυναικοπλη-

θῆς ὄμιλος ἀπύων,

βυσσίοις δ' ἐν πέπλοις πύση λακίς.

πᾶς γὰρ ἱππηλάτας καὶ πεδοστιβῆς λεῶς στρ. ε'.
σμήνος ὡς ἐκλέλουκεν μελισσῶν ξὺν ὀρχάμῳ
στρατοῦ,

τὸν ἀμφίξυκτον ἐξαμείψας ἀμφοτέρας ἄλιον 130
πρώνα κοινὸν αἶας.

λέκτρα δ' ἀνδρῶν πόθῳ πύμπλαται δακρύμα-
σιν

Περσίδες δ' ἀβροπευθεῖς ἐκάστα πόθῳ φιλόνορι
τὸν αἰχμᾶεντα θούρον εὐνατῆρ' ἀποπεμφαμένα

λείπεται μονόζυξ.

ἀλλ' ἄγε, Πέρσαι, τόδ' ἐνεζόμενοι 140

στέγος ἀρχαίων,

φροντίδα κεδνὴν καὶ βαθύβουλον

θώμεθα, χρεῖα δὲ προσήκει,

πῶς ἄρα πράσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς

Δαρειογενῆς, 145

τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἀμέτερον

πότερον τόξου ῥύμα τὸ νικῶν,

ἢ δορικράνου

λόγγης ἰσχύς κεκράτηκεν.

ἀλλ' ἦδε θεῶν ἴσον ὀφθαλμοῖς 150

φῶς ὀρμάται μήτηρ βασιλέως,

βασίλεια δ' ἐμῆ, προσπίτνω

καὶ προσφθόγγοις δὲ χρεῶν αὐτῆν

πάντας μύθοισι προσαυδᾶν.

ὃ βαθυζώνων ἀνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη, 155

μήτηρ ἢ Ξέρξου γεραῖά, χαῖρε, Δαρείου γύναι,

θεοῦ μὲν εὐνήτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ

ἔφης

εἴ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῶ.



ΑΤΟΣΖΑ.

ταῦτα δὴ λιποῦσ' ἰκάνω χρυσοστόλους δόμους
καὶ τὸ Δαρείου τε κάμον κοινὸν εὐνατήριον. 160
καὶ με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς· ἐς δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ
μῦθον, οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς οὐσ' ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,
μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κοίνσας οὐδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ
δλβον, ὃν Δαρείος ἦρεν οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινός.

ταῦτά μοι διπλῆ μέριμν' ἀφραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσὶ, 165
μήτε χρημάτων ἀνάνδρων πλήθος ἐν τιμῇ σέβειν,
μήτ' ἀχρημάτοισι λάμπειν φῶς, ὅσον σθένος πάρα.
ἔστι γὰρ πλοῦτός γ' ἀμαμφῆς, ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς
φόβος,

ἄμμα γὰρ δόμων νομίζω δεσπότητος παρουσίαν.
πρὸς τὰδ' ὡς οὕτως ἐχόντων τῶνδε, σύμβουλοι
λόγου 170

τοῦδέ μοι γένησθε, Πέρσαι, γηραλέα πιστώματα
πάντα γὰρ τὰ κέδν' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ μοι βουλευμάτα.

ΧΟ. εὐ τόδ' ἴσθι, γῆς ἀνασσα τῆσδε, μή σε δις φράσαι
μήτ' ἔπος μήτ' ἔργον ὃν ἂν δύναμις ἠγγεῖσθαι θέλῃ.
εὐρενεῖς γὰρ ὄντας ἡμᾶς τῶνδε συμβούλους κα-
λεῖς. 175

ΑΤ. πολλοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ νυκτέροις ὀνείρασι
ξύνειμι, ἀφ' οὐπερ παῖς ἐμὸς στείλας στρατῶν
Ἰαόνων γῆν οἴχεται Πέρσαι θέλων.
ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιόνδ' ἐναργές εἰδόμην
ὡς τῆς πάροιθεν εὐφρόνης, λέξω δέ σοι. 180
ἔδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναῖκ' εὐείμονα,
ἣ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἠσκημένη,
ἣ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν, εἰς ὕψιν μολεῖν,
μογῆται τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολλῶ,

κάλλει τ' ἀμώμω, καὶ κασιγνήτα γένους
ταυτοῦ· πάτραν δ' ἔναιον ἢ μὲν Ἑλλάδα
κλήρω λαχοῦσα γαίαν, ἢ δὲ Βάρβαρον. 185

τούτῳ στάσω τι, ὡς ἐγὼ δόκουν ὄραν,
τεύχειν ἐν ἀλλήλαισι· παῖς δ' ἐμὸς μαθὼν
κατέχει κάπρῶνεν, ἄρμασι δ' ὑπο 190
ζεύγνυσιν αὐτῶ καὶ λέπαδν' ἐπ' αὐχένων

τίθησι· χῆ μὲν τῆδ' ἐπυργούτο στολῆ,
ἐν ἠνίασί τ' εἶχεν εὐαρκτον στόμα·

ἢ δ' ἐσφάδαζε, καὶ χεροῖν ἐντη δίφρου
διασπαράσσει, καὶ ξυναρπάξει βία 195
ἄνευ χαλιῶν, καὶ ζυγὸν θραύει μέσον

πίπτει δ' ἐμὸς παῖς, καὶ πατὴρ παρίσταται
Δαρείος οἰκτεῖρων σφέ· τὸν δ' ὄπως ὄρᾳ
Ἐέρξης, πέπλους ῥήγνυσιν ἀμφὶ σώματι.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νυκτὸς εἰσιδεῖν λέγω·
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην καὶ χεροῖν καλλιρρόου
ἐφάυσα πηγῆς, ξὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ 200

βωμὸν προσέστην, ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσι
θέλουσα θῦσαι πέλανον, ὃν τέλη τάδε·
ὄρῳ δὲ φεύγουτ' αἰετὸν πρὸς ἐσχάραν 205

Φοῖβον φόβῳ δ' ἀφθογγος ἐστάθην, φίλοι·
μεθύστερον δὲ κίρκον εἰσορῶ δρόμῳ
πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κᾶρα

τῶλλονθ'· ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας
παρεῖχε. ταῦτ' ἔμοιγε δαίματ' ἔστ' ἰδαίν, 210
ὑμῖν δ' ἀκούειν, εὐ γὰρ ἴσθε, παῖς ἐμὸς

πράξας μὲν εὐ θαυμαστός ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνήρ,
κακῶς δὲ πράξας οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει,
σωθεῖς δ' ὁμοίως τῆσδε κοιρανεῖ χθονός.



ΧΟ. οὐ σε βουλόμεσθα, μήτηρ, οὐτ' ἄγαν φοβεῖν
λόγοις 215

οὔτε θαρσύνειν, θεοὺς δὲ προστροπαῖς ἰκνουμένη,
εἴ τι φλαῦρον εἶδες, αἰτοῦ τῶνδ' ἀποτροπήν τελεῖν,
ἀγαθὰ δ' ἐκτελεῖ γενέσθαι σοὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις σέθεν
καὶ πόλει φίλοις τε πᾶσι· δεύτερον δὲ χρη' χάος
γῆ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς χείσθαι· πρευμενῶς δ' αἰτοῦ
τάδε 220

σὺν πόσιν Δαρεῖον, ὕπερ φῆς ἰδεῖν κατ' εὐφρόνην,
ἐσθλά σοι πέμπειν τέκνω τε γῆς ἔνερθεν ἐς φάος,
τάμπαιον δὲ τῶνδε γαίας κάτοχ' ἀμαυροῦσθαι σκότῳ.
ταῦτα θυμόματις ὦν σοὶ πρευμενῶς παρήμισα·
εὐ δὲ πανταχῆ τελεῖν σοὶ τῶνδε κρίνομεν πέρι. 225

ΑΤ. ἀλλὰ μὴν εὐνοῦς γ' ὁ πρῶτος τῶνδ' ἐνυπνίων κριτῆς
παιδὶ καὶ δόμοις ἐμοῖσι τήνδ' ἐκύρωσας φάτιν.
ἐκτελοῖτο δὴ τὰ χρηστά· ταῦτα δ', ὡς ἐφίεσαι,
πάντα θήσομεν θεοῖσι τοῖς τ' ἔνερθε γῆς φίλοις,
εὐτ' ἂν εἰς οἴκους μόλωμεν. κείνα δ' ἐκμαθεῖν
θέλω, 230

ὦ φίλοι, ποῦ τὰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἰδρῦσθαι χθονός;

ΧΟ. τῆλε πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἀνακτος Ἥλιου φθινασμάτων.

ΑΤ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἱμεῖρ' ἐμὸς παῖς τήνδε θηρᾶσαι πόλιν;

ΧΟ. πᾶσα γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ἑλλάς βασιλείως ὑπήκοος.

ΑΤ. ἀδέ τις πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ; 235

ΧΟ. καὶ στρατὸς τοιούτος ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά.

ΑΤ. καὶ τί πρὸς τοῦτοισιν ἄλλο; πλοῦτος ἔξαρκῆς δόμοις;

ΧΟ. ἀργύρου πηγὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, θησαυρὸς χθονός.

ΑΤ. πύτερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμῆ διὰ χερῶν αὐτοῖς
πρέπει;

ΧΟ. οὐδαμῶς ἔγχε σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σάγαι. 240

ΑΤ. τίς δὲ ποιμάνωρ ἔπεστι κἀπίδεσπέζει στρατῷ;

ΧΟ. οὔτινος δοῦλοι κέκληνται φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

ΑΤ. πῶς ἂν οὖν μένοιεν ἄνδρας πολεμίους ἐπήλυδας;

ΧΟ. ὥστε Δαρείου πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φθείραι στρατόν.

ΑΤ. δευῶ τοι λέγεις ἰόντων τοῖς τεκοῦσι φροντίσαι. 245

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τάχ' εἴσει πάντα ναμερτῆ λόγον
τοῦδε γὰρ δράμημα φωτὸς Περσικὸν πρέπει μαθεῖν,
καὶ φέρεται σαφές τι πρῶτος ἐσθλὸν ἢ κακὸν κλέειν.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

ὦ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἀσιαδος πολιόμενα,
ὦ Περσὶς αἶα καὶ πολλὸς πλοῦτου λιμῆν, 250

ὡς ἐν μῆ πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολλὸς

ὄλβος, τὸ Περσῶν δ' ἄνθος οἴχεται πεσόν.

οἴμοι, κακὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀγγέλλειν κακά

ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πᾶν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος,

Πέρσαι· στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς βλωλε βαρβάρων.

ΧΟ. ἀνι' ἀνία κακὰ, νεόκοτα

στρ. α'.

καὶ δάτ'. αἶα, διαίνεσθε, Πέρσαι, τὸδ' ἄχος κλύοντες.

ΑΤ. ὡς πάντα γ' ἐστ' ἐκείνα διαπεπραγμένα· 260

καὶ τὸς δ' ἀέλπτως νόστιμον βλέπω φάος.

ΧΟ. ἢ μακροβίωτος ὕδα γέ τις

ἀντ. α'.

αἰὼν ἐφάνθη γεραιοῖς, ἀκούειν τόδε πῆμ' ἕλπιον.

ΑΤ. καὶ μὴν παρών γε κοῦ λόγου ἀλλω κλύων,

Πέρσαι, φράσαιμ' ἂν οἶ' ἐπορσύνθη κακά.

ΧΟ. ὅσοτοτοῖ, μάταν

στρ. β'.

τὰ πολλὰ βέβηλα παμμογή

γᾶς ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθ' ἐπ' αἶαν

δίαν Ἑλλάδα χώραν. 270



ΑΓ. πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότηως ἐφθαρμένων
Σαλαμίνοι ἀκταὶ πᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος

ΧΟ. ὄτοτοτοί, φίλων

ἀλδονα σώματα πολυβαφῆ
καθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι
πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσιν.

ἀντ. β.

ΑΓ. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤρκει τόξα, πᾶς δ' ἀπώλλυτο
στρατὸς δαμασθεὶς ναύσιον ἐμβολαῖς.

ΧΟ. ἰὺς ἄποτμον βοδν

στρ. γ. 280

δυσαιανῆ Πέρσαις
δίοις, ὡς πάντα παγκάκως
ἔθεσαν, αἰαῖ, στρατοῦ φθαρέντος.

ΑΓ. ὃ πλείστον ἔχθος ὄνομα Σαλαμίνοι κλύειν
φεύ, τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὡς στένω μεμνημένους.

285

ΧΟ. στυγαί γ' Ἀθῆναι δαίοις

ἀντ. γ.

μεμῆσθαί τοι πάρα
ὡς πολλὰς Περσίδων μάταν
ἔκτισαν εὐνίδας ἢδ' ἀνάνδρους.

ΑΓ. σιγῶ πάλαι δύστηνος ἐκπεπληγμένη

290

κακοῖς ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἦδε συμφορὰ,
τὸ μήτε λῆξαι μήτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη.
ἕως δ' ἀνάγκη πημονὰς βροτοῖς φέρειν
θεῶν δίδόντων· πᾶν δ' ἀναπτύξας πάθος
λέξον καταστάς, κεί στήνεις κακοῖς ἕως,
τίς οὐ τέθηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πευθίσομεν
τῶν ἀρχελαιῶν, ὅστ' ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίᾳ
ταχθεὶς ἀναδρον τάξιν ἠρήμου θανῶν.

295

ΑΓ. Ἐέρξης μὲν αὐτὸς ζῆ τε καὶ φάος βλέπει.

ΑΓ. ἐμοῖς μὲν εἴπας δάμασιν φάος μέγα
καὶ λευκὸν ἡμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου.

300

ΑΓ. Ἀρτεμβάρης δὲ, μυρίας ἵππου βραβεύς,
στυφλοῦς παρ' ἀκτὰς θείνεται Σιληνιῶν

χρὸ χιλλάρχος Δαδάκης πληγῆ δορὸς

πήδημα κούφον ἐκ νεῶς ἀφήλατο

305

Τενάγων τ' ἄριστος Βακτριῶν ἰθαγενής,

θαλασσόπληκτον νῆσον Αἰαντος πολεῖ.

Λίλαιος, Ἀρσάμης τε κάργηστης τρίτος,

οἶδ' ἀμφὶ νῆσον τὴν πελειοθρέμμονα

νικώμενοι κύρισσον ἰσχυρὰν χθόνα·

310

πηγαῖς τε Νείλου γειτοκῶν Λίγυπτίου

Ἄρκευς, Ἀδείης, καὶ Φερεσσεύης τρίτος,

Φαρνούχος, οἶδε ναὸς ἐκ μῆας πέσον.

Χρυσεὺς Μάταλλος μυριόνταρχος θανῶν,

ἵππου μελαίνης ἡγεμῶν τρισμυρίας,

315

πυρσὴν ζαπληθῆ δάσκιον γενειάδα

ἔτεγγί, ἀμείβων χρῶτα πορφύρεα βαφῆ.

καὶ Μᾶγος Ἄραβος Ἀρτάμης τε Βάκτριος

σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.

Ἄμηστρις Ἀμφιστρεύς τε πολύπονον δόρυ

320

νωμῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι

πένθος παρασχῶν, Σεισάμης θ' ὁ Μύσιος,

Θάρυβίς τε πευτήκοντα πευτάκις νεῶν

ταγὸς, γένος Λυρναῖος, εὐειδῆς ἀνήρ,

κεῖται θανῶν δειλαιὸς οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς

325

Σύννεσις τε πρῶτος εἰς εὐψυχίαν,

Κιλικῶν ἑπαρχος, εἰς ἀνήρ πλείστον πόνον

ἐχθροῖς παρασχῶν, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετα.

[τοιωνδ' ἀρχόντων ὑπεμνήσθησιν πέρι.]

πολλῶν παρόντων ὀλέγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακά.

330

ΑΓ. αἰαῖ, κακῶν ἔψιστα δὴ κλύω τάδε,

[REDACTED]

- ΑΓ. πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότμος ἐφθαρμένων
Σαλαμίνοσ ἀκταὶ πᾶσ τε πρόσχωροσ τόποσ
- ΧΟ. ὄτοτοτοί, φίλων
ἀλλοδα σώματα πολυβαφή
κατθανόντα λέγεισ φέρεσθαι
πλαγκτοῖσ ἐν διπλάκεσσι.
- ΑΓ. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤρκει τόξα, πᾶσ δ' ἀπέλλυτο
στρατὸσ δαμασθεῖσ ναλοισι ἐμβολαῖσ.
- ΧΟ. ἕξ' ἀποτμον βοῶν
δυσαιανῆ Πέρσαισ
δαίουσ, ὡσ πάντα παγκάκωσ
ἔθεσαν, αἰαῖ, στρατοῦ φθαρέντοσ.
- ΑΓ. ὦ πλείστον ἔχθοσ ὄνομα Σαλαμίνοσ κλύει'
φεῦ, τῶν Ἀθηρῶν ὡσ στένω μεμνημένοσ.
- ΧΟ. στυγαί γ' Ἀθῶναι δαίουσ
μεμνήσθαι τοι πάρα
ὡσ πολλὰσ Περσῶν μάταν
ἔκτισαν εὐνιδασ ἠδ' ἀνάνδρουσ.
- ΑΤ. σιγῶ πάλαι δύστηνοσ ἐκπεπληγμένη
κακοῖσ ἵπερβάλλει γὰρ ἦδε συμφορὰ,
τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη.
ὄμοσ δ' ἀνάγκη πημονὰσ βροτοῖσ φέρειν
θεῶν διδόντων πᾶν δ' ἀναπτύξασ πάθοσ
λέξον καταστάσ, κεί στένεισ κακοῖσ ὄμοσ,
τίσ οὐ τίθηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πευθήσομεν
τῶν ἀρχελαίων, ὅσ' ἐπὶ σκηπτουχία
ταχθεῖσ ἀνανδρον τάξι ἠρήμου θανῶν.
- ΑΓ. Ἐέρξῃσ μὲν αὐτὸσ ζῆ τε καὶ φάοσ βλέπει.
- ΑΤ. ἔμοῖε μὲν εἶπασ δάμασι φάοσ μέγα
καὶ λευκὸν ἡμαρ νυκτὸσ ἐκ μελαγχίμου.

ἀντ. β.

στρ. γ. 280

285

ἀντ. γ.

290

295

300

- ΑΓ. Ἀρτεμβάρῃσ δὲ μυρίασ ἵππου βραβεὺσ,
στυφλοὺσ παρ' ἀκτάσ θείνεταὶ Σιληνιῶν
χωὶ χιλιάρχοσ Δαδάκησ πληγῆ δορὸσ
πήδημα κοῦφον ἐκ νεὸσ ἀφήλατο
- 305 Τενάγων τ' ἀριστοσ Βακτριῶν ἰθαγενῆσ,
θαλασσοπληκτον νῆσον Αἰαντοσ πολεῖ.
Δίλαιοσ, Ἀρσάμησ τε κἀργήσθησ τρίτοσ,
οἶδ' ἀμφὶ νῆσον τὴν πελειοθρέμμονα
- 310 νικώμενοσ κύρισσον ἰσχυράν χθόνα'
πηγαῖσ τε Νεῖλου γειτονῶν Αἰγυπτίου
Ἀρκετῶσ, Ἀδεύῃσ, καὶ Φερεσσειῆσ τρίτοσ,
Φαρνοῦχοσ, οἶδε ναὸσ ἐκ μῆσ πέσον.
- Χρυσεὺσ Μάταλλοσ μυριόνταρχοσ θανῶν,
ἵππου μελαίνῃσ ἡγεμῶν τρισμυρίασ,
- 315 πυροσὴν ζαπληθῆ δάσκιον γενειάδα
ἔτεγγ', ἀμείβων χροῖτα πορφυρέα βαφῆ.
καὶ Μᾶγοσ Ἀραβοσ Ἀρτάμησ τε Βάκτριοσ
σκληρᾶσ μέτοικοσ γῆσ ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.
- Ἀμυστρισ Ἀμφιστρεῦσ τε πολύπονον δόρυ
- 320 νωμῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλόσ Ἀριόμαρδοσ Σάρδεσι
πέυθοσ παρασχωῶν, Σεισάμησ θ' ὁ Μύσιοσ,
Θάρυβίσ τε πευτήκοντα πευτάκισ νεῶν
ταγὸσ, γένοσ Λυρναῖοσ, εὐειδήσ ἀνῆρ,
- 325 κείται θανῶν δειλαιοσ οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶσ
Σύννεσσίσ τε πρῶτοσ εἰσ εὐψυχίαν,
Κιλικῶν ἐπαρχοσ, εἰσ ἀνῆρ πλείστον πόνον
ἐχθροῖσ παρασχωῶν, εὐκλεῶσ ἀπόλωτο.
- [τοιωνδ' ἀρχόντων ὑπεμνήσθησ περὶ.]
- 330 πολλῶν παρόντων ὀλίγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακά.
Τ. αἰαῖ, κακῶν ὑψιστα δὴ κλύω τάδε,



αἰσχὴ τε Πέρσαις καὶ λογέα κοκκύματα.
ἀτὰρ φράσον μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας πάλιν·
πόσον δὲ πλῆθος ἦν νεῶν Ἑλληνίδων,
ὅσθ' ἀξιώσαι Περσικῷ στρατεύματι
μάχην ξυνάψαι ναύοισιν ἐμβολαῖς;

ΑΓ. πλήθους μὲν ἂν σάφ' ἴσθ' ἑκατὶ βάρβαρον
ναυσὶν κρατῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἑλλησιν μὲν ἦν
ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα
ναῶν, δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος·
Ἐέρξη δὲ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν
ἂν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρομοποι τάχει
ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'. ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.
μὴ σοι δοκοῦμεν τῆδε λειφθῆναι μάχῃ;

ΑΤ. ἀλλ' ὦδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατὸν,
τάλαντα βρίσας οὐκ ἰσορρόπῳ τύχῃ.

ΑΓ. θεοὶ πόλιν σώζουσιν Παλλάδος θεᾶς.

ΑΤ. ἔτ' ἂρ' Ἀθηναίων ἔστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις;

ΑΓ. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.

ΑΤ. ἀρχὴ δὲ ναυσὶ ξυμβολῆς τίς ἦν φράσον·
τίνας κατήρξαν, πότερον Ἑλληνες, μάχης,
ἢ καὶς ἐμὸς, πλήθει καταυχήσας νεῶν;

ΑΓ. ἦρξεν μὲν, ὦ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ
φανεὶς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν.
ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἑλλήν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ
ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδί σφ' Ἐέρξη τάδε,
ὡς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἵξεται κρέφας,
Ἑλληνες οὐ μενοῖεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν
ναῶν ἐπευθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε
δρασμῷ κρυφαίῳ βίσιον ἐκωσοῖατο.
ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεὶς δόλον

Ἑλληνος ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον,
πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τόνδε ναυάρχους λόγον·
εὐτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτίσιν ἥλιος χθόνα
λήξῃ, κρέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβῃ,
τάξαι νεῶν στίφος μὲν ἐν στοίχοις τρισὶν,
ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους,
ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ·
ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοίαθ' Ἑλληνες κακόν,
ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμῶν εὐρόντες τινα,
πᾶσι στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκειμένον.
τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε κάρθ' ὑπ' εὐθύμου φρενός·
οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἠπίστατο.
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀκόσμως, ἀλλὰ πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ
δεῦπνόν τ' ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ
τροπούτο κώπῃν σκαλμῶν ἀμφ' εὐήρητον.
ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο
καὶ νύξ ἐπήει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἀναξ
ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρει πᾶς θ' ὄπλων ἐπιστάτης·
τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὸς μακρᾶς·
πλέουσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος,
καὶ πάννηχοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν
ναῶν ἀνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεῶν·
καὶ νύξ ἐχώρει, κοῦ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς
κρυφαίον ἔκπλον οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο·
ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι λευκόπυλος ἡμέρα
πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαίαν εὐφεγγῆς ἰδεῖν,
πρῶτον μὲν ἠχῆ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν εὐφήμησεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἄμα
ἀντηγάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας
ἠχώ· φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρήν.
P.



γνώμης ἀποσφαλείσιν οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ
 παιῶν' ἐφύμνονν σεμνὸν Ἑλληγες τότε,
 ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμώντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει.
 σάλπιγγ' ὃ αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν
 εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ
 ἔπαισαν ἄλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύματος,
 θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν
 τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας
 ἤγγειτο κόσμῳ, δεῦτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος
 ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὀμοῦ κλύειν
 πολλὴν βοήν, ὃ παιδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε,
 ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
 παιδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατράων ἔδη,
 θήκας τε προγόνων' νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγῶν. 40
 καὶ μὴν παρ' ἡμῶν Περσίδος γλώσσης ῥόθος
 ὑπηντίαζε, κοῦκέτ' ἦν μάλλειν ἀκμή.
 εὐθὺς δὲ ναῦς ἐν νηϊ χαλκῆρη στόλον
 ἔπαισεν ἤρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ
 ναῦς, κάποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεῶς
 κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἴθυεν δόρυ.
 τὰ πρῶτα μὲν νῦν ρεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ
 ἀντεῖχεν ὡς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν
 ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγῇ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοις παρῆν,
 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλοις χαλκοστόμοις
 παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον,
 Ἑλληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως
 κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον, ὑπτιούτο δὲ
 σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν,
 ναυαγίων πλῆθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν
 ἀκταὶ δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ' ἐπλήθον

φυγῇ δ' ἀκόσμως πᾶσα ναῦς ἠρέσσετο,
 ὅσαιπερ ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος
 τοὶ δ' ὥστε θύνουσι ἢ τιν' ἰχθύων βόλον
 ἀγαῖσι κωπῶν θραύμασιν τ' ἐρειπίων 425
 ἔπαιον, ἐρράχιζον, οἰμαγῇ δ' ὀμοῦ
 κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἄλα,
 ὅως κελαινήσ νυκτὸς ὄμμ' ἀφείλετο.
 κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δέκ' ἤματα
 στοιχηγοροίην, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλήσαιμί σοι. 430
 εὐ γὰρ τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδάμ' ἡμέρα μὲν
 πλῆθος τοσουτάρθμον ἀνθρώπων θανεῖν.
 αἰαί, κακῶν δὲ πέλαιος ἔρρωγεν μέγα
 Πέρσαις τε καὶ πρόπαντι βαρβάρων γένει 435
 εὐ νῦν τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδέπω μεσοῦν κακόν'
 τοιάδ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦλθε συμφορὰ πάθους,
 ὡς τοῖσδε καὶ δις ἀντισηκῶσαι ῥοπή.
 καὶ τίς γένοιτ' ἂν τῆσδ' ἔτ' ἐχθίων τύχη;
 λέξον τίν' αὐ φῆς τήνδε συμφορὰν στρατῷ
 ἔλθειν κακῶν ῥέπουσαν ἐς τὰ μάσσονα. 440
 Περσῶν ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν,
 ψυχὴν τ' ἄριστοι κευγένειαν ἐκπρεπεῖς,
 αὐτῷ τ' ἀνακτι πίστιν ἐν πρώτοις ἀεὶ,
 τεθνᾶσιν αἰσχυρῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ.
 οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα ξυμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι, 445
 ποῖω μόρῳ δὲ τούσδε φῆς ὀλωλέναι;
 νῆσός τις ἐστὶ πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων
 βαιᾶ, δύσορμος ναυσίν, ἦν ὁ φιλόχορος
 Πᾶν ἐμβατεύει, ποντίας ἀκτῆς ἐπι.
 ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ' ὅπως ἔτ' ἂν νεῶν 450
 φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκσωζοῖατο,

[REDACTED]

κτείνουεν εὐχείρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν,
 φίλους δ' ὑπεκσώζουεν ἐναλίων πόρων
 κακῶς τὸ μέλλον ἱστορῶν. ὡς γὰρ θεὸς
 ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἑλλησιν μάχης,
 αὐθημερὸν φράξαντες εὐχάλοισι δέμας
 ὄπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρωσκον ἀμφὶ δὲ
 κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὥστ' ἀμηχανεῖν
 ὄποι τράποιντο. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ χειρῶν
 πέτροισιν ἠράσσοντο, τοξικῆς τ' ἀπὸ
 θώμωγος ἰοὶ προσπίπτοντες ἄλλυσαν,
 τέλος δ' ἐφορμηθέντες ἐξ ἑνὸς ῥόθου
 παλοῦσι κρεοκοποῦσι δυστήνων μέλη,
 ζωὴ ἀπάντων ἐξαπέφθειραν βίον.

Ξέρξης δ' ἀνόμεξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος
 ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ,
 ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ὄγχι πελαγίας ἀλός
 ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακωκύσας λιγύ,
 πεζῶ παραγγείλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι,
 ἴησ' ἀκόσμη ξὺν φυγῇ. τοιάνδε σοι
 πρὸς τῇ πάροιθε ξυμφορὰν πάρα στένειν.

ΑΤ. ὃ στυγνὴ δαίμων, ὡς ἄρ' ἔψευσας φρενῶν
 Πέρσας πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν
 κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν εὖρε, κοῦκ ἀπήρκεσαν
 οὐκ πρόσθε Μαραθῶν βαρβάρων ἀπώλεσεν
 ὡν ἀντίποινα παῖς ἐμὸς πράξειν δοκῶν
 τοσόδε πλήθος πημάτων ἐπίσπασεν.
 σὺ δ' εἶπὲ ναῶν αἰ πεφεύγασιν μῆρον,
 τοῦ τάσδ' ἔλευκας ὀλοθα σημήναι τορῶς;

ΑΓ. ναῶν δὲ ταγοὶ τῶν λαλιμμένων σύδην
 κατ' ὄρον οὐκ εὐκοσμον αἶρονται φυγῆν.

στρατὸς δ' ὁ λοιπὸς ἐν τε Βοιωτῶν χθονὶ
 διόλλυθ', οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ κρηναῖον γάνος
 δίψῃ πονούντες, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀσθματος κενοὶ
 διεκπερῶμεν ἐς τε Φωκῆων χθόνα
 καὶ Δωριδ' αἶαν, Μηλιᾶ τε κόλπον, οὐ
 Σπερχεῖος ἄρδει πεδίον εὐμνεῖ ποτῶ
 κἀντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιῖδος πέδον
 καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλισμ' ὑπεσπανισμένους
 βορᾶς ἐδέξαντ'. ἐνθα δὴ πλείστοι θάνου
 δίψῃ τε λιμῶ τ': ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ἦν τάδε.
 Μαγνητικὴν δὲ γαίαν ἐς τε Μακεδόνων
 χθώραν ἀφικόμεσθ', ἐπ' Ἀξίου πόρον,
 Βόλβης θ' ἔλειον δόνακα, Παγγαῖόν τ' ὄρος,
 Ἴδωνιδ' αἶαν νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς
 χειμῶν ἄσρον ὄρσε, πῆγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν
 ῥέεθρον ἀγνοῦ Στρυμόνος· θεοὺς δέ τις
 τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ τότ' εὐχετο
 λιταῖσι, γαίαν οὐρανόν τε προσκυνῶν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο
 στρατὸς, περᾶ κρυσταλλοπήγα διὰ πόρον
 χῶστίς μὲν ἡμῶν πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ
 ἀκτίνας ὠρμήθη, σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ.
 φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἤλιου κύκλος
 μέσον πόρον διήκε, θερμαίνων φλογί
 πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν εὐτύχει δέ τοι
 ὅστις τάχιιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίον.
 ἔσοι δὲ λοιποὶ κἀτυχον σωτηρίας,
 Θρήκην περάσαντες μόγις πολλῶ πόνῳ,
 ἦκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες, οὐ πολλοὶ τινες,
 ἐφ' ἐστιούχον γαίαν ὡς στένειν πόλιν

[REDACTED]

Περσῶν, ποθοῦσαν φιλότατην ἤβην χθονός.
ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἀληθῆ· πολλὰ δ' ἐκλείπω λόγων
κακῶν δὲ Πέρσαις ἐγκατέσκηψεν θεός.

ΧΟ. ὦ δυσπρόνητε δαίμον, ὡς ἄγαν βαρὺς
ποδοῖν ἐπήλου παντὶ Περσικῷ γένοι.

ΑΤ. οἱ ἴγῳ τάλαινα διαπεπραγμένου στρατοῦ
ὦ νυκτὸς ὄψις ἐμφανῆς ἐνυπνίων,
ὡς κάρτα μοι σαφῶς ἐδήλωσας κακά.
ὑμεῖς δὲ φαύλως αὐτ' ἄγαν ἐκρίνατε.
ὄμως δ', ἐπειδὴ τῆδ' ἐκύρωσεν φάτις
ὑμῶν, θεοῖς μὲν πρῶτον εὐχασθαι θέλω·
ἔπειτα γῆ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς δωρήματα
ἤξω λαβοῦσα πέλανον ἐξ οἴκων ἐμῶν
ἐπίσταμαι μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις,
ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εἰ τι δὴ λῶον πέλοι.
ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἴπλ τοῖσδε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
πιστοῖσι πιστὰ ξυμφέρειν βουλευμάτα·
καὶ παῖδ', ἐάν περ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλῃ,
παρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προπέμπετ' ἐς δόμους,
μὴ καὶ τι πρὸς κακοῖσι πρόσθηται κακόν.

ΧΟ. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν Περσῶν
τῶν μεγαλήτων καὶ πολυάνδρων
στρατιὰν ὄλεσας
ἄστν τὸ Σούσων ἠδ' Ἐκβατάνων
πένθει δνοφερῶ κατέκρυψας·
πολλὰ δ' ἀπαλαῖς χερσὶ καλύπτρας
κατερεικόμεναι διαμυδαλέοις
δάκρυσι κόλπους
τέγγουσ', ἄλγους μετέχουσαι.
αἱ δ' ἄβρόγιοι Περσίδες ἀνδρῶν

ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν,
λέκτρων εὐνάς ἀβροχίτωνας,
χλιδαῆς ἤβης τέρψιν, ἀφείσαι,
πενθοῦσι γόοις ἀκορεστοτάτοις·
καὶ γὰρ δὲ μύρον τῶν οἰχομένων
αἶρω δοκίμως πολυπενθῆ.

νῦν γὰρ δὴ πρόπασα μὲν στένει
γαῖ' Ἀσίς ἐκκενουμένα·

Ἡέρξης μὲν γὰρ ἀγαγεν, ποποῖ,
Ἡέρξης δ' ἀπώλεσεν, τοτοῖ,
Ἡέρξης δὲ πάντ' ἐπέσπε δυσφρόνως
βαρίδασι ποντίαις.

τίπτε Δαρειὸς μὲν οὐ-
τω τότ' ἀβλαβῆς ἐπῆν

τόξαρχος πολιήταις,
Σουσίδαις φίλος ἄκτωρ,
πέζους γὰρ τε καὶ θαλασσίους
ὁμόπτεροι κυανώπιδες

νᾶες μὲν ἀγαγον, ποποῖ,
νᾶες δ' ἀπώλεσαν, τοτοῖ,
νᾶες πανωλέθροισιν ἐμβολαῖς,
διὰ δ' Ἰαόνων χέρας;

τυτθὰ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνακτ'
αὐτὸν ὡς ἀκούομεν

Θρήκης ἀμ πεδιήρεις
δυσχίμους τε κελύθους.

τοῖ δ' ἄρα πρωτόμοροι, φεῦ,
λειφθέντες πρὸς ἀνάγκαν, ἐγὼ,
ἀκτὰς ἀμφὶ Κνυχρίαις, ὁά,
* * * στένει καὶ δακνά-

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στρ. α'.

550

555

ἀντ. α'.

560

565

στρ. β'.

570

[REDACTED]

ζου βαρὺ δ' ἀμβόασον
οὐράνι ἄχῃ, ὁδὸν
τείνε δὲ δυσβάυκτον
βοᾶτιν τάλαιναν αὐδάν.
κραπτόμενοι δ' ἀλλ' δεινῶ, φεῦ,
σκύλλονται πρὸς ἀναύδων, ἐή,
παίδων τᾶς ἀμιάτου, ὁδὸν
πενθεῖ δ' ἄνδρα δόμος στερη-
θεῖς, τοκέες δ' ἄπαιδες
δαιμόνι' ἄχῃ, ὁδὸν
δυσόμενοι γέροντες
τὸ πᾶν δὴ κλύουσιν ἄλγος.
τοὶ δ' ἀνὰ γᾶν Ἀσίαν δὴν
οὐκέτι περσονομοῦνται,
οὐκέτι δασμοφοροῦσιν
δεσποσίνοισιν ἀνάγκαι,
οὐδ' ἐπὶ γᾶν προπίτνοντες
ἄρξονται βασιλεία
γὰρ διόλωλεν ἰσχὺς.
οὐδ' ἔτι γλώσσα βροτοῖσιν
ἐν φυλακαῖς λέλυται γὰρ
λαὸς ἐλεύθερα βάζειν,
ὡς ἐλύθη ζυγὸν ἀλκᾶς.
αἰμαχθεῖσα δ' ἄρουραν
Δίαντος περικλύστα
νῆσος ἔχει τὰ Περσῶν.

ΔΤ. φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν ὅστις ἔμπειρος κυρεῖ,
ἐπίσταται βροτοῖσιν ὡς, ὅταν κλύδων
κακῶν ἐπέλθῃ, πάντα δειμαίνειν φιλεῖ·
ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροῇ, πεποιθῆναι

τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ δαίμον' οὐριεῖν τύχης.
ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἤδη πάντα μὲν φόβου πλέα
ἐν ὄμμασιν τάνταῖα φαίνεται θεῶν,
57 βοᾶ δ' ἐν ὧσὶ κέλαδος οὐ παιώνιος· 605
ἀντ. β τοῖα κακῶν ἐκπληξίς ἐκφοβεῖ φρένας.
τοῦ γὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων
χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροισεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν
ἔστειλα, παιδὸς πατρὶ πρευμανεῖς χοᾶς
58 φέρουσ', ἄπερ νεκροῖσι μελικτῆρια, 610
βοᾶς τ' ἀφ' ἀγνῆς λευκὸν εὐποτον γάλα,
τῆς τ' ἀνθεμουργοῦ στάγμα, παμφαῆς μέλι,
λιβάσιω ὑδρηλαῖς παρθένου πηγῆς μέτα,
ἀκήρατόν τε μητρὸς ἀγρίας ἀπο
στρ. γ ποτόν παλαιᾶς ἀμπέλου γάνος τόδε· 615
58 τῆς τ' αἰὲν ἐν φύλλοισι θαλλούσης βίον
ξανθῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸς εὐώδης πάρα,
ἄνθη τε πλεκτὰ, παμφόρου γαίας τέκνα
ἀλλ', ὃ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων
59 ὕμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τὸν τε δαίμονα 620
ἀντ. γ Δαρεῖον ἀγκαλεῖσθε, γαπτότους δ' ἐγὼ
τιμὰς προπέμψω τάσδε νερτέροις θεοῖς.
Ο. βασιλεῖα γύναι, πρέσβος Πέρσαις,
σύ τε πέμπε χοᾶς θαλάμου ὑπὸ γῆς,
59 ἡμεῖς θ' ὕμνοις αἰτησόμεθα 625
φθιμένων πομποῦς
εὐφρονας εἶναι κατὰ γαίας.
ἀλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοῖ,
Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρον,
60 πέμψατ' ἔναρθε ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς 630
εἰ γὰρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἶδε πλῆον,



μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι.
 ἦ ῥ' αἶτι μου μακαρίτας ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς στρ. α'
 • βάρβαρα σαφηνῆ
 ἰέντος τὰ παναίολ' αἰανῆ δύσθροα βάγματα; 63
 παντάλαν' ἄχη διαβοάσω;
 νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου;
 ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι χθονίων ἀγεμό-
 νες, ἀντ. α'. 64

δαίμονα μεγαυχή
 ἰόντ' αἰνέσατ' ἐκ δόμων, Περσῶν Σουσυγενῆ θεόν
 πέμπετε δ' ἄνω οἶον οὐπω 649
 Περσὶς αἴ' ἐκάλυψεν.

ἦ φίλος ἀνὴρ, φίλος ἕχθος· φίλα γὰρ κέκευθε
 ἦθη. στρ. β'
 'Αἰδωνεύς δ' ἀναπομπὸς ἀνείης 'Αἰδωνεύς 650
 Δαρείων, οἶον ἀνακτα Δαρείαν. ἦέ
 οὔτε γὰρ ἀνδρας ποτ' ἀπώλλυ πολεμοφθόροισι
 ἄταις, ἀντ. β'

θεομήστωρ δ' ἐκικλήσκετο Πέρσαις, θεομήστωρ δ'
 ἔσκεν, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν εὖ ἐποδάκει. ἦέ
 βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλὴν ἴθι, ἰκοῦ, στρ. γ'
 ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου,
 κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὐμαρῶν αἰείρων, 66
 βασιλείου τιάρας φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.
 βάσκει πάτερ ἄκακε Δαρείαν, οἶ
 ὅπως καινὰ τε κλήης νέα τ' ἄχη, ἀντ. γ'. 66
 δέσποτα δεσπότην, φάνηθι.

Στυγία γὰρ τις ἐπ' ἀχλὺς πεπόταται
 νεολαία γὰρ ἦδη κατὰ πῦσ' ἔλωλε. 67
 βάσκει πάτερ ἄκακε Δαρείαν, οἶ

αἰαὶ αἰαὶ. ἐπυθός.
 ὃ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανῶν,
 τί τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα 675
 περὶ τᾶ σᾶ δίδυμα δι' ἄνοιαν ἀμάρτια
 πάσα γὰρ σᾶ τᾶδ'; ἐξέφθινθ' αἱ τρισκαλμοι.
 νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες. 680

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ.

ὃ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἠλικές θ' ἦβης ἐμῆς
 Πέρσαις γεραιοὶ, τίνα πόλις πονεὶ πόνον;
 στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον
 λεύσσω δ' ἄκοιτιν τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας
 ταρβῶ, χοῆς δὲ πρηνεμένης ἐδεξάμην. 685

ὕμεις δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγυς ἐστῶτες τάφου,
 καὶ ψυχαγωγοῖς ὀρθιάζοντες γόοις
 οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθέ μ', ἐστὶ δ' οὐκ εὐξέδοσιν,
 ἄλλως τε πάντως χοὶ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ
 λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθίεναι. 690

ὄμως δ' ἐκείνοισι ἐνδυναστεύσας ἐγὼ
 ἦκω· τάχυνε δ', ὡς ἀμεμπτος ὃ χρόνου.
 τί δ' ἐστὶ Πέρσαις νεοχμὸν ἐμβριθεὶς κακόν;

ΧΟ. σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι, σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέ-
 ξαι στρ. 694

σέθεν, ἀρχαῖω περὶ τάρβει. 696

ΔΑ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κάτωθεν ἦλθον σοῖς γόοις πεπεισμένος,
 μὴ τι μακιστήρα μῦθον, ἀλλὰ σύντομον λέγων
 εἶπε καὶ πέραινε πάντα, τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ μεθεῖς.

ΧΟ. δίωμαι μὲν χαρίσασθαι, δίωμαι δ' ἀντία φά-
 σθαι, ἀντ. 700

λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.



ΑΙΣΧΥΤΑΙΟΤ

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

29

λ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιῶν σοὶ φρενῶν ἀνθίσταται,
 τῶν ἐμῶν λέκτρων γεραιὰ ξύννομ', εὐγενὲς γύναι
 κλαυμάτων λήξασα τῶνδε καὶ γόνων σαφές τί μοι γοῶ
 λέξον. ἀνθρώπεια δ' ἄν τοι πῆματ' ἄν τύχοι βροτοῖς
 πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θαλάσσης, πολλὰ δ' ἐκ χέρσου
 κακὰ
 γήγνεται θνητοῖς, ὁ μᾶσσων βίωτος ἦν ταβῆ πρόσω
 Ϛ. ὃ βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχὼν ὄλβον εὐτυχεὶ πότμῳ
 δε θ', ἕως ἔλευσες αὐγὰς ἡλίου, ζηλωτὸς ὢν 710
 βίωτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὡς θεὸς διήγαγες,
 νῦν τέ σε ζηλῶ θανόντα, πρὶν κακῶν ἰδεῖν βάθος
 πάντα γὰρ, Δαρεῖ', ἀκούσει μῦθον ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ
 διαπεπόρθηται τὰ Περσῶν πρᾶγμαθ', ὡς εἶπεν ἔπος
 λ. τίνοι τρόπος; λοιμοῦ τις ἦλθε σκηπτὸς, ἢ στάσις
 πόλις; 715
 Ϛ. οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἀμφ' Ἀθήνας πᾶς κατέφθαρται
 στρατός.
 λ. τίς δ' ἐμῶν ἐκέισε παίδων ἐστρατηλάται; φράσον
 Ϛ. θούριος Ξέρξης, κενώσας πᾶσαν ἠπείρου πλάκα
 λ. πεζὸς ἢ ναύτης δὲ πείραν τήνδ' ἐμώρανευ τάλας;
 Ϛ. ἀμφότερα· διπλοῦν μέτωπον ἦν δυοῖν στρατεῦν
 μάτοις. 720
 λ. πῶς δὲ καὶ στρατὸς τοσόσδε πεζὸς ἤνυσεν περᾶν;
 Ϛ. μηχαναῖς ἔξευξεν Ἕλλησ πορθμὸν, ὅστ' ἔχειν πόρον
 λ. καὶ τόδ' ἐξέπραξεν, ὅσπερ Βόσπορον κληῖσαι μέγαν
 Ϛ. ὅδ' ἔχει· γνώμης δὲ πού τις δαιμόνων ξυνήγατο.
 λ. φεῦ, μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὅσπερ μὴ φρονεῖν
 καλῶς. 725
 Ϛ. ὡς ἰδεῖν τέλος πάρεστιν οἶον ἤνυσεν κακόν.
 λ. καὶ τί δὴ πράξασιν αὐτοῖς ὅδ' ἐπιστανάζετε;

ΑΤ. ναυτικός στρατὸς κακῶθεις πεζὸν ὄλσε στρατόν.
 ΔΑ. ὅδε παμπήδην δὲ λαὸς πᾶς κατέφθαρται δορί;
 ΑΤ. πρὸς τὰδ' ὡς Σούσων μὲν ἄστου πᾶν κεναυδρίαν
 στένει. 730
 ΔΑ. ὃ πόποι κενῆς ἀρωγῆς κάπικουρίας στρατοῦ.
 ΑΤ. Βακτρίων δ' ἔρρει πανώλος δῆμος, οὐδέ τις γέρον.
 ΔΑ. ὃ μέλεος, οἶαν ἄρ' ἦβην ξυμμάχων ἀπώλεσε.
 ΑΤ. μονάδα δὲ Ξέρξην ἐρημόν φασιν οὐ πολλῶν μέτα—
 ΔΑ. πῶς τε δὴ καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾶν; ἔστι τις σωτηρία; 735
 ΑΤ. ἄσμενον μολεῖν γέφυραν γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν.
 ΔΑ. καὶ πρὸς ἠπείρουν σεσῶσθαι τήνδε, τοῦτ' ἐτήτυμον;
 ΑΤ. ναί· λόγος κρατεῖ σαφήνης τοῦτο κοῦκ ἐνι στάσις.
 ΔΑ. φεῦ, ταχεῖά γ' ἦλθε χρησμῶν πρᾶξις, ἐς δὲ παῖδ' ἐμὸν
 Ζεὺς ἐπέσκηψεν τελευτὴν θεσφάτων· ἐγὼ δὲ που 740
 διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου τὰδ' ἠῦχον ἐκτελετηῖσειν θεοῦ.
 ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτὸς, χωὶ θεὸς ξυναίπτεται
 νῦν κακῶν ἔοικε πηγῇ πᾶσιν εὐρήσθαι φίλοις.
 παῖς δ' ἐμὸς τὰδ' οὐ κατειδῶς ἤνυσεν νέφ θράσει·
 ὅστις Ἑλλησπορτον ἱερὸν δοθλον ὡς δεσμώμασι 745
 ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ,
 καὶ πόρον μετερρῦθμζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις
 περιβαλῶν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ,
 θνητὸς ὢν θεῶν δὲ πάντων φετ', οὐκ εὐβουλίῃ,
 καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν. πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόσος
 φρενῶν 750
 εἶχε παῖδ' ἐμόν; δέδοικα μὴ πολὺς πλοῦτου πόνος
 οὐμὸς ἀνθρώποις γένηται τοῦ φθάσαντος ἀρπαγῆ.
 ΑΤ. τὰτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμλῶν ἀνδράσι διδάσκειται
 θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοισ
 πλοῦτον ἐπέτησεν ξὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀναυδρία ὑπο 755



ἔνδον αἰχμάζειν, πατρῶν δ' ὄλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνει
 τοιάδ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ὄνειδη πολλακίς κλύων κακῶν
 τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στρατεύμ' ἐφ'
 Ἑλλάδα.

ΔΑ. τουγάρ σφιν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐξεργασμένου
 μέγιστον, αἰμίμηστον, οἶον οὐδέπω
 τόδ' ἄστυ Σούσων ἐξεκείνωσεν πεσόν,
 ἐξ οὔτε τιμῆν Ζεὺς ἀναξ τήνδ' ὄπασεν,
 ἐν' ἀνδρ' ἀπάσης Ἀσιάδος μηλοτρόφου
 ταγαῖν, ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον εὐθυνηρίων.
 Μῆδος γάρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμῶν στρατοῦ
 ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε
 φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ψακοστροφῶν.
 τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κύρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ,
 ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις
 Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο,
 Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίῃ
 θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὐφρων ἔφυ.
 Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ἴθυνη στρατόν.
 πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος ἤρξεν, αἰσχύνῃ πάτρῃ
 θρόνοισί τ' ἀρχαίοισι τὸν δὲ σὺν δόλῳ
 Ἄρταφρένης ἔκτεινεν ἐσθλὸς ἐν δόμοις,
 ξὺν ἀνδράσι φίλοισιν, οἷς τόδ' ἦν χρέος
 [ἔκτος δὲ Μάραφης, ἔβδομός τ' Ἄρταφρένης.]
 κἀγὼ πάλου τ' ἔκυρσα τοῦπερ ἤθελον
 κἀπεστράτευσά πολλαὶ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ
 ἀλλ' οὐ κακὸν τοσόνδε προσέβαλον πόλει.
 Εἰρένης δ' ἐμὸς παῖς νέος ἐὼν νέα φρονεῖ,
 κοῦ μνημονεύει τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιστολάς
 εὐ γὰρ σαφῶς τόδ' ἴσ'· ἐμοὶ ξυνήλικες,

ἅπαντες ἡμεῖς, οἱ κράτη τάδ' ἔσχομεν,
 οὐκ ἂν φανείμεν πῆματ' ἔρξαντες τόσα.
 Ο. τί οὖν ἀναξ Δαρεῖε, ποῖ καταστρέφεις
 λόγων τελευτήν; πῶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἔτι
 πράσσοιμεν ὡς ἕριστα Περσικὸς λεῶς;
 760 Α. εἰ μὴ στρατεύοισθ' ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήνων τόπον, 790
 μῆδ' εἰ στρατεύμα πλείον ἢ τὸ Μηδικόν.
 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει.
 Ο. πῶς τοῦτ' ἐλεξας, τίνι τρόπῳ δὲ συμμαχεῖ;
 Α. κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.
 765 Ο. ἀλλ' εὐσταλῆ τοι λεκτὸν ἀρούμεν στόλον. 795
 Α. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ μείνας νῦν ἐν Ἑλλάδος τόποις
 στρατὸς κυρήσει νοστήμου σωτηρίας.
 Ο. πῶς εἴπας; οὐ γὰρ πᾶν στρατεύμα βαρβάρων
 περὶ τὸν Ἑλλῆς πορθμὸν Εὐρώπης ἄπο;
 770 Α. παῦροί γε πολλῶν, εἴ τι πιστεῦσαι θεῶν 800
 χρῆ θεσφάτοισιν, ἐς τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα
 βλέψαιτα· συμβαίνει γὰρ οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δ' οὐ.
 κείπερ τάδ' ἐστὶ, πλήθος ἔκκριτον στρατοῦ
 λείπει κεναῖσιν ἐλπίσιν πεπεισμένος.
 775 μίμνουσι δ' ἐνθα πεδίον Ἀσωπὸς ῥοαῖς 805
 ἄρδει, φίλον πλάσμα Βοιωτῶν χθονί
 οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν,
 ὕβρεως ἄποινα καθέων φρονημάτων
 οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
 780 ἡδούντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεῶς 810
 βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι, δαιμόνων θ' ἰδρύματα
 πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.
 τουγάρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
 πάσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοῦδέπω κακῶν.



ΑΙΣΧΤΑΟΤ

κρηπίς ὑπεστι, ἀλλ' ἐτ' ἐκπιδύεται.
 τόσος γὰρ ἔσται πέλανος αἵματοσφαγῆς
 πρὸς γῆ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγγης ὑπο
 θίνες νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοσπόρφ γονῆ
 ἄφωνα σημανοῦσιν ὄμμασιν βροτῶν
 ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρφευ θνητὸν ὄντα χρη φρονεῖν.
 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν
 ἄτης, ὕθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.
 τοιαῦθ' ὄρωντες τῶνδε τάπιτίμια
 μέμνησθ' Ἀθηναίων Ἑλλάδος τε, μηδέ τις
 ὑπερφρονήσας τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα
 ἄλλων ἐρασθεὶς ὀλβον ἐκχέη μέγαν.
 Ζεὺς τοι κολαστῆς τῶν ὑπερκόπων ἄγαν
 φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὐθυνος βαρῦς.
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκείνον σωφρονεῖν κεχρημένοι
 πυνύσκειτ' εὐλόγοισι νοθετήμασι,
 λήξαι θεοβλαβοῦνθ' ὑπερκόμπη θράσει.
 σὺ δ', ὦ γεραυὰ μήτηρ ἢ Ξέρξου φίλη,
 ἐλθοῦσ' ἐς οἶκους κόσμον ὅστις εὐπρεπῆς
 λαβοῦσ' ὑπαντίαζε παιδί. παντὶ γὰρ
 κακῶν ὑπ' ἄλγους λακίδες ἀμφὶ σήματι
 στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων.
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εὐφρόνως σὺ πρᾶϊνον λόγοις
 μόνης γὰρ, οἶδα, σοῦ κλύων ἀνέξεται.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι γῆς ὑπὸ ζόφον κάτω.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ, πρέσβεις, χαίρετ', ἐν κακοῖς ὄμοις
 ψυχῇ δίδόντες ἡδονὴν καθ' ἡμέραν,
 ὡς τοῖς θανοῦσι πλοῦτος οὐδὲν ἀφελῆ.
 ΧΟ. ἢ πολλὰ καὶ παρόντα καὶ μέλλοντ' ἐτι
 ἦληθ' ἀκούσας βαρβάροισι πῆματα.

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

81. ὦ δαῖμον, ὅς με πόλλ' ἐσέρχεται κακὰ 845
 ἄλγη, μάλιστα δ' ἤδε συμφορὰ δάκνει,
 ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι
 ἐσθημάτων κλύουσιν, ἢ νιν ἀμπέχει.
 ἀλλ' εἴμι, καὶ λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἐκ δόμων
 82 ὑπαντίαζω παῖδ' ἐμῷ πειράσομαι. 850
 οὐ γὰρ τὰ φίλτατ' ἐν κακοῖς προδώσομεν.
 ὦ πόποι, ἢ μεγάλας ἀγαθὰς τε πολισσονόμου βιοτᾶς
 ἐπεκύρσαμεν, στρ. α'.
 εὐθ' ὁ γηραιὸς
 82 πανταρκῆς, ἀκάκας, ἀμαχος βασιλεὺς, 855
 ἰσόθεος Δαρεῖος ἀρχε χώρας.
 πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιάς ἀπεφαινόμεθ', ἠδὲ
 νομίσματα πύργια ἀντ. α'.
 πάντ' ἐπεύθυνον. 860
 83 νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους, ἀπαθεῖς,
 * * * εὐπράσσοντας ἄγον οἶκους.
 ὄσας δ' εἶλε πόλις πόρον οὐ διαβάς Ἄλλος
 ποταμοῖο, στρ. β'. 864
 οὐδ' ἀφ' ἐστίας συθεῖς,
 83 οἶαι Στρυμονίου πελάγους Ἀχελαιῶδες εἰσὶ πάροικοι 870
 Θρηκίων ἐπαύλων,
 λῆνας τ' ἐκτοθεν, αἱ κατὰ χέρσον ἐληλαμέναι περὶ
 πύργον ἀντ. β'.
 τοῦδ' ἀνακτος αἶον, 874
 84 Ἑλλάς τ' ἀμφὶ πόρον πλατὺν ἀρχόμεναι, μυχία
 τε Προποντις,
 στόμαμα Πόντου
 ἄσοι θ' αἱ κατὰ πρῶν ἄλλων περίκλυτοι στρ. γ'. 879
 ε γὰρ προσήμεναι,



μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἶποι.
 ἢ ῥ' αἶτι μου μακαρίτας ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς στρ. α'.
 βάρβαρα σαφηγή
 ἰέντος τὰ παναίολ' αἰανῆ δύσθροα βάγματα; 63
 παντάλαν ἄχη διαβοάσω;
 νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου;
 ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι χθονίων ἀγεμό-
 νες, ἀντ. α'. 640

δαίμονα μεγαυχή
 ἰόντ' αἰνέσαι' ἐκ δόμων, Περσῶν Σουσυγενῆ θεόν
 πέμπετε δ' ἄνω οἶον οὐκω 645
 Περσίς αἴ' ἐκάλυψεν.

ἢ φίλος ἀνήρ, φίλος ἔχθος· φίλα γὰρ κέκυθε
 ἦθη. στρ. β.

Ἄιδωνεύς δ' ἀναπομπὸς ἀνείης Ἄιδωνεύς 650
 Δαρείον, οἶον ἀνακτα Δαρειάν. ἠέ
 οὔτε γὰρ ἄνδρας ποτ' ἀπώλλυ πολεμοφθόροισι
 ἄταις, ἀντ. β.

θεομήστωρ δ' ἐκικλήσκειτο Πέρσαις, θεομήστωρ δ'
 ἔσκεν, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν αὐτὸν ἐποδάκει. ἠέ.

βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλὴν ἴθι, ἰκοῦ, στρ. γ'
 ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου,
 κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὐμαριω ἀείρων,
 βασιλείου τιάρας φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.

βάσκε πάτερ ἄκακε Δαρειάν, οἶ
 ὅπως καινά τε κλύης νέα τ' ἄχη, ἀντ. γ'. 66
 δέσποτα δεσπότη, φάνηθι.

Στυγία γὰρ τις ἐπ' ἀγλῆς πεπύταται·
 νεολαία γὰρ ἦδη κατὰ πῦσ' ἔλωλε. 67
 βάσκε πάτερ ἄκακε Δαρειάν, οἶ

αἰαὶ αἰαὶ. ἐπιδός.
 ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανόν,
 τί τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα 675
 περὶ τᾶ σᾶ δίδυμα δι' ἄνοιαν ἀμάρτια
 πάσῃ γᾶ σᾶ τᾶδ'; ἐξέφθινθ' αἱ τρισκαλμοὶ
 νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες. 680

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ.

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἠλικές θ' ἦθης ἐμῆς
 Πέρσαι γεραιοὶ, τίνα πόλις ποιεὶ πόνον;
 στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον
 λύσσων δ' ἀκοίτην τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας 685
 ταρβῶ, χοῆς δὲ πνευμένης ἐδεξάμην.

ὑμεῖς δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγυς ἐστῶτες τάφου,
 καὶ ψυχαγωγοῖς ὀρθιάζοντες γόοις
 οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθέ μ', ἐστὶ δ' οὐκ εὐέξοδον,
 ἄλλως τε πάντως χοῖ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ
 λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθίναι. 690

ὄμως δ' ἐκείνοις ἐνδυναστεύσας ἐγὼ
 ἦκω τάχυνε δ', ὡς ἀμειπτος ὦ χρόνου.
 τί δ' ἐστὶ Πέρσαις νεοχμὸν ἐμβριθὲς κακόν;

XO. σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι, σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέ-
 ξαι στρ. 694

σέθεν, ἀρχαῖε περὶ τάρβει. 696
 ΔΑ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κάτωθεν ἦλθον σοῖς γόοις πεπεισμένος,
 μὴ τι μακιστήρα μῦθον, ἀλλὰ σύντομον λόγων
 εἶπε καὶ πέραινε πάντα, τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ μεθεῖς.

XO. δίομαι μὲν χαρίσασθαι, δίομαι δ' ἀντία φά-
 σθαι, ἀντ. 700

λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.

[REDACTED]

- ΔΑ.** ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιὸν σοὶ φρενῶν ἀντίσταται,
τῶν ἐμῶν λέκτρων γεραιὰ ξύννομι', εὐγενές γύναι
κλαυμάτων λήξασα τῶνδε καὶ γόνων σαφές τί μοι γοῶ
λέξον. ἀνθρώπεια δ' ἄν τοι πῆματ' ἄν τύχοι βροτοῖς
πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θαλάσσης, πολλὰ δ' ἐκ χέρσου
κακὰ
γίγνεται θνητοῖς, ὁ μᾶσσων βίωτος ἦν ταθῆ πρόσω
- ΔΤ.** ὦ βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχῶν ὄλβον εὐτυχεῖ πότμη
δς θ', ἕως ἔλευσσεσ ἀνγὰς ἡλίου, ζηλωτὸς ὦν 710
βίωτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὡς θεὸς διήγογες,
νῦν τέ σε ζηλώθ' ἀνόντα, πρὶν κακῶν ἰδ
πάντα γὰρ, Δαρεῖ', ἀκούσει μῦθον ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ
διαπεπόρηται τὰ Περσῶν πράγμαθ', ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος
- ΔΑ.** τίς τῶν τρόπων; λοιμοῦ τις ἦλθε σκηπτὸς, ἢ στάσι
πόλει; 715
- ΔΤ.** οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἀμφ' Ἀθήνας πᾶς κατέφθαρται
στρατὸς.
- ΔΑ.** τίς δ' ἐμῶν ἐκέισε παίδων ἐστρατηλάται; φράσσον
- ΔΤ.** θούριος Ξέρξης, κενώσας πᾶσαν ἠπείρου πλάκα.
- ΔΑ.** πεζὸς ἢ ναύτης δὲ πείραν τήνδ' ἐμώρανευ τάλας;
- ΔΤ.** ἀμφότερα' διπλοῦν μέτωπον ἦν δυοῖν στρατεν
μάτωιν. 720
- ΔΑ.** πῶς δὲ καὶ στρατὸς τοσόσδε πεζὸς ἦνυσεν περᾶν;
- ΔΤ.** μηχαναῖς ἐξευξεν Ἑλλης πορθμὸν, ὥστ' ἔχειν πόρον
- ΔΑ.** καὶ τὸδ' ἐξέπραξεν, ὥστε Βόσπορον κλῆσαι μέγαν
- ΔΤ.** ὃδ' ἔχει· γνάμης δὲ πού τις δαϊμόνων ξυνήγατα.
- ΔΑ.** φεῦ, μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν
καλῶς. 725
- ΔΤ.** ὡς ἰδεῖν τέλει πάρεστιν οἶον ἦνυσεν κακόν.
- ΔΑ.** καὶ τί δὴ πράξασιν αὐτοῖς ὃδ' ἐπιστενάξτε;

- ΔΤ.** ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακῶθεις πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν.
- ΔΑ.** ἄδε παμπήδην δὲ λαὸς πᾶς κατέφθαρται δορί;
- ΔΤ.** πρὸς τὰδ' ὡς Σούσων μὲν ἄστν πᾶν κενανδρίαν
στένει. 730
- ΔΑ.** ὦ πόποι κενῆς ἀρωγῆς κάπικουρίας στρατοῦ.
- ΔΤ.** Βακτρίων δ' ἔρρει πανώλος δῆμος, οὐδέ τις γέρας.
- ΔΑ.** ὦ μέλεος, οἶαν ἄρ' ἦβην ξυμμάχων ἀπέλεσε.
- ΔΤ.** μονάδα δὲ Ξέρξην ἔρημόν φασιν οὐ πολλῶν μέτα—
- ΔΑ.** πῶς τε δὴ καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾶν; ἔστι τις σωτηρία; 735
- ΔΤ.** ἄσμενον μολεῖν γέφυραν γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν.
- ΔΑ.** καὶ πρὸς ἠπείρουν σεσῶσθαι τήνδε, τοῦτ' ἐτήτυμον;
- ΔΤ.** ναί· λόγος κρατεῖ σαφηνῆς τοῦτο κοῦκ ἐνι στάσις.
- ΔΑ.** φεῦ, ταχεῖά γ' ἦλθε χρησμῶν πράξις, ἐς δὲ παῖδ' ἐμὸν
Ζεὺς ἐπέσκηψεν τελευτὴν θεσφάτων' ἐγὼ δὲ που 740
διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου τὰδ' ἠῤῥχον ἐκτελευτήσιν θεοῦ.
ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτὸς, χεῖ θεὸς ξυνάπτεται
νῦν κακῶν ἔοικε πηγῆ πᾶσιν εὐρήσθαι φίλοις.
παῖς δ' ἐμὸς τὰδ' οὐ κατειδῶς ἦνυσεν νέφ' θράσει
ἕστις Ἑλλησποντον ἱερὸν δοθλον ὡς δεσμώμασιν 745
ἠλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥέον θεοῦ,
καὶ πόρον μετερρῦθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις
περιβαλῶν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἦνυσεν πολλῆ στρατῶ,
θνητὸς ὦν θεῶν δὲ πάντων φεῖτ', οὐκ εὐβουλίᾳ,
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσιν. πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόσος
φρενῶν 750
- ΔΑ.** εἶχε παῖδ' ἐμὸν; δέδοικα μὴ πολλὸς πλοῦτος πόρος
οὐμὸς ἀνθρώποις γένηται τοῦ φθάσαντος ἀρπαγῆ.
- ΔΤ.** ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὀμνῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκειται
θούριος Ξέρξης· λόγουσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοισ
πλοῦτον ἐπέτησθ' ἐν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίαν ὑπο 755

[REDACTED]

ΑΙΣΧΤΑΙΟΤ

ς δ' οὐ; στρατὸν μὲν τοσοῦτον τάλας πέπλω-
 μαί.
 δ' οὐκ; ἔλωλεν μεγάλας τὰ Περσῶν.
 ἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τότε τῆς ἐμᾶς στολᾶς;
 ἰ ὄρα.
 δε τ' οἰστοδέγμονα—
 τότε λέγεις σεσωσμένον;
 γαυρὸν βελέεσσιν;
 ἰά γ' ἄς ἀπὸ πολλῶν.
 γανίσμεθ' ἀρωγῶν.
 ἰων λαὸς οὐ φυγαίχμας.
 κέρειος· κατεῖδον δὲ πῆμ' ἀελπτον.
 κέντα ναύφρακτον ἑρεῖς ὄμιλον;
 γλον δ' ἐπέρρηξ' ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ κακοῦ.
 καὶ παπαῖ.
 πλέον ἢ παπαῖ μὲν οὖν.
 ἰμα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τριπλᾶ.
 γρὰ, χάρματα δ' ἐχθροῖς.
 σθένος γ' ἐκολούσθη.
 ἰὸς εἰμι προπομπῶν.
 ἰων ἄταισι ποντίαισιν.
 ἰνε δῖαινε πῆμα· πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι. στρ.
 ἰ αἰαῖ, δύο δύο.
 ἰ νυν ἀντίδουκά μοι.
 ἰν κακῶν κακῶν κακοῖς.
 ἰ μέλος ὀμοῦ τιθεῖς.
 τοτοῖ.
 κεία γ' ἄδε συμφορᾶ.
 μάλα καὶ τόδ' ἀλγῶ.
 τσ' ἔρρασε καὶ στέναξ' ἐμῆν χάριν. ἀντ.

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

39

Ο. διαίνομαι γοεδνὸς ἄν.
 στρ. β. βόα νυν ἀντίδουκά μοι.
 10 Ο. μέλειν πάρεστι, δέσποτα.
 β. ἐπορβίαξέ νυν γόοις. 1050
 Ο. ὄτοτοτοῖ.
 10 β. μέλαινα δ' αὐ μεμίζεται—
 Ο. οἱ, στονδέσσα πλαγά.
 β. καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε κάπιβόα τὸ Μύσιον. στρ. ζ.
 Ο. ἀνὶ ἄνια.
 β. καὶ μοι γενείου πέρθε λευκῆρη τρίχα. 1055
 10 Ο. ἄπρυγδ' ἄπρυγδα μάλα γοεδνά.
 ἀντ. β. αὐτεῖ δ' ὄξυ. ΧΟ. καὶ τὰδ' ἔρξω.
 β. πέπλον δ' ἔρρικε κολπίαν ἀκμῆ χειρῶν. ἀντ. ζ.
 Ο. ἀνὶ ἄνια.
 β. καὶ ψάλλ' ἔθειραν καὶ κατοίκτισαι στρατόν.
 10 Ο. ἄπρυγδ' ἄπρυγδα μάλα γοεδνά.
 β. διαίνου δ' ὄσσε. ΧΟ. τέγγομαί τοι. 1065
 β. βόα νυν ἀντίδουκά μοι. ἐπυδός.
 10 Ο. οἰοῖ οἰοῖ.
 β. αἰακτὸς ἐς δόμους κίε.
 Ο. ἰὼ ἰὼ, Περσίς αἰα δύσβατος.
 β. ἰὼ δὴ κατ' ἄστν. 1070
 Ο. ἰὼ δῆτα, ναὶ ναί.
 10 β. γοᾶσθ' ἀβροβάται.
 Ο. ἰὼ ἰὼ, Περσίς αἰα δύσβατος.
 β. ἰῆ ἰῆ, τρισκάμοισιν,
 ἰῆ ἰῆ, βάρισιν ὀλόμενοι.
 Ο. πέμψω τοί σε δυσθρόοις γόοις.

[REDACTED]

κρηπίς ὑπεστιν, ἀλλ' ἐτ' ἐκπιδύεται
 τόσος γὰρ ἔσται πέλανος αἵματοσφαγῆς
 πρὸς γῆ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὑπο-
 θίνες νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοσπόρφ γονῆ
 ἄφωνα σημανοῦσι δμμασι βροτῶν
 ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρφου θνητῶν ὄντα χρῆ φρονεῖν.
 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν
 ἀτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.
 τοιαῦθ' ὄρωντες τῶνδε τὰπιτίμα
 μέμνησθ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἑλλάδος τε, μηδέ τις
 ὑπερφρονήσας τοῦ παρόντα δαίμονα
 ἄλλων ἐρασθεῖς ἄλβον ἐκχῆ μέγαν.
 Ζεὺς τοι κολαστής τῶν ὑπερκόπων ἄγαν
 φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὐθύνος βαρὺς.
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκείων σωφρονεῖν κεχρημένοι
 πινύσκειτ' εὐλόγοισι νουθετήμασι,
 λῆξαι θεοβλαβούνθ' ὑπερκόμπω θράσει.
 σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιὰ μητὲρ ἢ Ξέρξου φίλη,
 ἀλοῦσ' ἐς οἶκους κόσμον ὅστις εὐπρεπῆς
 λαβοῦσ' ὑπαντίαζε παιδί. παντὶ γὰρ
 κακῶν ὑπ' ἄλγους λακίδες ἀμφὶ σήματι
 στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων.
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εὐφρόνως σὺ πράϊνον λόγους
 μόνης γὰρ, οἶδα, σοῦ κλύων ἀνέξεται.
 ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι γῆς ὑπὸ ζόφον κάτω.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ, πρέσβεις, χαίρετ', ἐν κακοῖς δμῶς
 ψυχῇ δίδόντες ἡδονὴν καθ' ἡμέραν,
 ὡς τοῖς θανοῦσι πλοῦτος οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ.
 ΧΟ. ἢ πολλὰ καὶ παρόντα καὶ μέλλοντ' ἐτι
 ἤλγησ' ἀκούσας βαρβάρουσι πῆματα.

81. ὦ δαίμον, ὅς με πόλλ' ἐσέρχεται κακὰ 845
 ἄλγη, μάλιστα δ' ἤδε συμφορὰ δάκνει,
 ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι
 ἐσθημάτων κλύουσαν, ἢ νιν ἀμπέχει.
 ἀλλ' εἴμι, καὶ λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἐκ δόμων
 82. ὑπαντίαζειν παῖδ' ἐμῷ πειράσομαι. 850
 οὐ γὰρ τὰ φίλτατ' ἐν κακοῖς προδώσομεν.
 ὦ πόποι, ἢ μεγάλας ἀγαθὰς τε πολιισσονόμου βιοτᾶς
 ἐπεκύρσαμεν, στρ. α'.
 εὐθ' ὁ γηραιὸς
 82. πανταρκῆς, ἀκάκας, ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς, 855
 ἰσόθεος Δαρεῖος ἀρχε χώρας.
 πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιᾶς ἀπεφαινόμεθ', ἠδὲ
 νομίσματα πύργινα ἀντ. α'.
 πάντ' ἐπεύθινον. 860
 83. νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους, ἀπαθείς,
 * * * εὐπράσσοντας ἄγον οἴκους.
 ὄσας δ' εἶλε πόλεις πόρον οὐ διαβάς Ἄλλους
 ποταμοῖο, στρ. β'. 864
 οὐδ' ἀφ' ἐστίας συθείς,
 83. οἶαι Στρυμονίου πελάγους Ἀχελωῖδες εἰσὶ πάροικοι
 Θρηκίων ἐπαύλων, 870
 λίμνας τ' ἔκτοθεν, αἱ κατὰ χέρσον ἐληλαμέναι περὶ
 πύργον ἀντ. β'.
 τοῦδ' ἀνακτος αἶον, 874
 84. Ἑλλάς τ' ἀμφὶ πόρον πλατὺν ἀρχόμεναι, μυχία
 τε Προποντις,
 καὶ στόμωμα Πόντου
 νᾶσοι θ' αἱ κατὰ πρῶν ἄλιον περίκλυστοι στρ. γ'. 879
 τᾶδε γὰρ προσήμεναι,
 P.



ΛΙΣΧΤΛΟΤ

οἶα Δέσβος, ἐλαιόφυτός τε Σάμος, Χίος,
ἠδὲ Πάρος, Νάξος, Μύκονος, Τήνη τε συνάπτουσ' ἔ
Ἄνδρος ἀγχυγείτων.

καὶ τὰς ἀγχιάλους ἐκράτυνε μεσάκτους, ἀντ.
Δήμον, Ἰκάρου θ' ἔδος,

Καὶ Ῥόδον ἠδὲ Κνίδον Κυπρίας τε πόλεις, Πάφ
ἠδὲ Σόλους, Σαλαμῖνά τε, τὰς νῦν ματρίπολεις τὰ
αἰτία στεναγμῶν.

καὶ τὰς εὐκτεάνους κατὰ κλήρον Ἰαόνιον πο
ἀνδρους

Ἑλλάνων ἐκράτυνε σφετέραις φρεσίν.
ἀκάματον δὲ παρῆν σθένος ἀνδρῶν τευχιστήρη
παμμύκτων τ' ἐπικούρων.

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀμφιλόγως θεότρεπτα τὰδ' αὖ φέρο
πολέμοισι

δμαθίντες μεγάλης πλαγαῖσι ποντίαισιν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΖ.

ἰώ,

δύστηνος ἐγὼ στυγεράς μοίρας

τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης,

ὡς ἑμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη

Περσῶν γενεῆ· τί πάθω τλήμων;

λέλυται γὰρ ἐμῶν γυῖων βῶμη

τῆσδ' ἡλικίαν ἐσιδόντ' ἀστῶν.

εἴθ' ὄφειλε, Ζεῦ, καμὲ μετ' ἀνδρῶν

τῶν οἰχομένων

θανάτου κατὰ μοῖρα καλύψαι.

ΧΟ. ἔστοι, βασιλεῦ, στρατιάς ἀγαθῆς

ε

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

καὶ Περσουόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης,
κόσμου τ' ἀνδρῶν,

920

οὓς νῦν δαίμων ἐπέκειρεν.

γὰ δ' αἰάζει τὰν ἐγγαίαν

πρωτόδο.

ἦσαν Ἐέρξῃ κταμέναν Ἄιδου

σάκτορι Περσῶν ἀδοβάται γὰρ

πολλοὶ φῶτες χώρας ἀνθος

925

τοξοδάμαντες, πάνυ γὰρ φύστις,

μυριάς ἀνδρῶν, ἐξέφθινται.

αἰαὶ αἰαὶ κεδνᾶς ἀλκᾶς.

Ἄσῖα δὲ χθῶν, βασιλεῦ γαίας,

αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλεται.

930

ἔδ' ἐγὼ, οἰοί, αἰακτὸς

στρ. α'.

μέλεος γέννα, γὰρ τε πατρός

κακὸν ἄρ' ἐγενόμαν.

πρέσφογγόν σοι νόστου τὰν

935

κακοφάτιδα βοᾶν, κακομέλετον ἰᾶν

Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητήρος,

πέμψω, πολὺδακρυν ἰακχάν.

ἔτ' αἰανῆ πάνδυρτον

ἀντ. α' 940

δύσθροον αὐδάν. δαίμων γὰρ ἔδ' αὖ

μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί.

ἦσω τοι καὶ πάνδυρτον

λασπαθῆ τε σεβίζων ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη

945

πόλεως γέννας πευθητήρος,

κλάγξω δ' αὖ γόνον ἀρίδακρυν.

Ἰάνων γὰρ ἀπήυρα,

στρ. β'.

Ἰάνων ναύφρακτος

950

Ἄρης ἑτεραλκῆς

νυχίαν πλάκα κερσάμενος.



ΑΙΣΧΤΛΟΤ

- δυσδαίμονά τ' ἀκτάν.
 Ο. οίοιοί βόα καὶ πάντ' ἐκπέυθου,
 ποῦ δὲ φίλων ἄλλος ὄχλος,
 ποῦ δὲ σοι παραστάται,
 οἶος ἦν Φαρανδάκης,
 Σούσας, Πελάγων,
 Δοτάμας ἠδ' Ἀγδαβάτας, Ψάμμις,
 Σουσισκάνης τ'
 Ἀγβάτανα λεπών;
 ΙΒ. ὀλοοὺς ἀπέλειπον
 Τυρίας ἐκ ναδὸς
 ἔρροντας ἐπ' ἀκταῖς
 Σαλαμινιάσι στυφελού
 θείοντας ἐπ' ἀκτᾶς.
 ΚΟ. οίοιοί, ποῦ σοι Φαρνούχος
 Ἀριόμαρδός τ' ἀγαθός,
 ποῦ δὲ Σευάλκης ἀναξ,
 ἢ Δίλαιος εὐπάτωρ,
 Μέμφις, Θάρυβις,
 καὶ Μασίστης Ἀρτεμβάρης τ'
 ἠδ' Ἰσταίχμας,
 τάδε σ' ἐπανερόμαν.
 ΞΕ. ἰὼ ἰὼ μοι,
 τὰς ἀγγύλους κατιδόντες
 στρυγὰς Ἀθάνας, πάντες ἐνὶ πιτύλῃ,
 ἐπὶ ἐπὶ, τλάμονες ἀσπαίρουσι χέρσῃ.
 ΚΟ. ἦ καὶ τὸν Περσῶν αὐτοῦ
 τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ' ὀφθαλμῶν
 μυρία μυρία πεμπαστᾶν
 Βατανόχου παῖδ', Ἀλπιστον

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

37

- • • •
 τοῦ Σεισάμα τοῦ Μεγαβάτα,
 Πάρθον τε, μέγαν τ' Οἰβάρην
 ἐλιπες ἐλιπες; ὦ ὦ ὦ δάων. 985
 Πέρσαις ἀγαυοῖς κακὰ πρόκακα λέγεις.
 Ἰγγά μοι δῆτ' ἀντ. γ.
 ἀγαθῶν ἐτέρων ὑπομνησκεις, 990
 ἄλαστ' ἄλαστα στρυγὰ πρόκακα λέγων.
 βοᾷ βοᾷ μοι μελέων ἔντοσθεν ἦτορ.
 καὶ μὴν ἄλλον γε ποθοῦμεν,
 Μάρδων ἀνδρῶν μυριόνταρχον
 Ξάνθιν, ἄρειόν τ' Ἀγχάρην, 995
 Δίαιξιν τ' ἠδ' Ἀρσάκην
 ἰππιάνακτας,
 Κηγδαδάταν καὶ Λυθίμναν
 Τόλμον τ' αἰχμᾶς ἀκρόεστος.
 ἔταφον ἔταφον, οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς 1000
 τροχηλάτοισιν ὄπιθεν ἐπόμενοι.
 βεβᾶσι γὰρ τοῖπερ ἀγρόται στρατοῦ. στρ. δ.
 βεβᾶσιν, οἱ, νώνυμοι.
 ἰῆ ἰῆ, ἰὼ ἰὼ.
 ἰὼ ἰὼ, δαίμονες,
 ἔθεσθ' ἄελπιον, 1005
 διαπρέπον. οἶον δέδοι
 πεπλήγῃ οἶαι δι' ἢ τύχαι. ἀντ. δ.
 πεπλήγῃ
 δ δ
 1010
 κ ες γ
 τ ἰ τὸ Περσᾶν.

[REDACTED]

ΑΙΣΧΤΑΟΤ

πῶς δ' οὐ; στρατὸν μὲν τοσοῦτον τάλας πέπλω-
 μαί.
 τί δ' οὐκ; ἔλωλεν μεγάλας τὰ Περσῶν.
 ὄρῃς τὸ λοιπὸν τότε τὰς ἐμᾶς στολᾶς;
 ὄρῳ ὄρῳ.
 τόνδε τ' οἰστοδέγμονα—
 τί τότε λέγεις σεσωσμένον;
 θησαυρὸν βελέεσσιν;
 βασιὰ γ' ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν.
 ἐσπανίσμεθ' ἀρωγῶν.
 Ἰαόνων λαὸς οὐ φυγαίχμας.
 ἀγανόρειος· κατεῖδον δὲ πῆμ' ἀελπτον.
 τραπέντα ναύφρακτον ἐρεῖς ὄμιλον;
 πέπλον δ' ἐπέρρηξ' ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ κακοῦ.
 παπαὶ παπαῖ.
 καὶ πλέον ἢ παπαὶ μὲν οὖν.
 δίδυμα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τριπλῆ.
 λυπρὰ, χάρματα δ' ἐχθροῖς.
 καὶ σθένος γ' ἐκολούσθη.
 γυμνὸς εἰμι προκομπῶν.
 φίλων ἄταισι ποντῆλαιων.
 δίαινε δίαινε πῆμα· πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι. στρ.
 αἰαὶ αἰαὶ, δύο δύο.
 βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.
 δόσω κακῶν κακῶν κακοῖς.
 ἴψε μέλος ὀμοῦ τιθείς.
 ὄστοτοῖ.
 βαρεῖά γ' ἄδε συμφορὰ.
 οἱ μάλᾳ καὶ τὸδ' ἀλγῶ.
 ἔρεσσ' ἔρεσσε καὶ στέναξ' ἐμὴν χάριν. ἀνι

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ.

39

Ο. διαίνομαι γοεδνὸς ἄν.
 στρ. β. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.
 10 Ο. μέλειν πάρεστι, δέσποτα.
 β. ἐπορθιάξέ νυν γόοις. 1050
 Ο. ὄστοτοῖ.
 10 β. μέλαινα δ' αὐ μεμίζεται—
 Ο. οἱ, στονδέσσα πλαγά.
 β. καὶ στέρν' ἀρασσε κάπιβόα τὸ Μύσιον. στρ. ζ.
 Ο. ἀνὶ ἄνια.
 β. καὶ μοι γενείου πέρθε λευκὴν τρήχα. 1055
 10 Ο. ἄπρυγδ' ἄπρυγδα μάλᾳ γοεδνά.
 ἀντ. β. αὐτεῖ δ' ὄξυ. ΧΟ. καὶ τὰδ' ἔρξω.
 β. πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε κοιλίαν ἀκμῆ χειρῶν. ἀντ. ζ.
 Ο. ἀνὶ ἄνια.
 β. καὶ ψάλλ' ἔθειραν καὶ κατοίκτισαι στρατόν.
 10 Ο. ἄπρυγδ' ἄπρυγδα μάλᾳ γοεδνά.
 β. διαίνου δ' ὄσσε. ΧΟ. τήγγομαί τοι. 1065
 β. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι. ἐπυδός.
 10 Ο. οἰοὶ οἰοὶ.
 β. αἰακτὸς ἐς δόμους κίε.
 Ο. ἰὼ ἰὼ, Περσίς αἰα δύσβατος.
 β. ἰωὸ δὴ κατ' ἄστυ. 1070
 Ο. ἰωὸ δῆτα, ναὶ ναί.
 10 β. γοᾶσθ' ἀβροβάται.
 Ο. ἰὼ ἰὼ, Περσίς αἰα δύσβατος.
 β. ἰή ἰή, τρισκάλμοισιν,
 ἰή ἰή, βάρισιν ὀλόμενοι.
 Ο. πέμψω τοί σε δυσθρόοις γόοις.

[REDACTED]

NOTES.

1—154. This Choris Ode consists of three distinct parts; (1) the Parodos (ll. 1—64), written in anapaestic dimeters, and sung by the old men forming the Chorus as they move from the entrance of the theatre across the orchestra to their place around the Thymele; (2) the First Stasimon (ll. 65—140) which falls into strophe and antistrophe, and which is sung by the Chorus after they have arranged themselves and are stationary; (3) the anapaestic lines (ll. 140—154). The first song of the Chorus in the *Agamemnon* (ll. 40—257) should be compared. It, too, is composite, the anapaestic Parodos (ll. 40—104) being immediately followed by the antistrophic Stasimon (ll. 105—257). The length of the Parodos is almost exactly the same (64 lines) in the two cases, being probably proportioned in each to the movement of aged feet over the same space. In the *Persae* we notice the absence of the usual "Prologue"; which is to some extent supplied by the Chorus, who give the information necessary to make the spectator acquainted with the opening situation. The same thing happens in the *Suppliants*, and no doubt marks a comparatively early stage of the dramatic art of Aeschylus.

In the Parodos the old men, speaking as the venerable representatives of Persia, express the apprehension and gloom abroad in Susa and throughout the empire touching the absent king and army, of whom no tidings reach home. The language in which they dwell on the numbers of the varied host and the splendour of its leaders does but bring this feeling home to us more forcibly. In the Stasimon the same theme is pursued in fuller detail, and with express mention of the fear that, through pride and insolence, the armament may be even now involved in the toils of Atreus. Special uneasiness is awakened by the thought that the Persians have quitted their old heaven-appointed career of land conquest to brave the perils of a passage by sea. The city is deserted as a hive whence bees

[REDACTED]

have swarmed, every woman is mourning for her absent one. May it not be that city and wives have to mourn their men lost to them for ever!

At the close of the Ode, the leader, in a few anapaestic lines (ll. 140—154), calls on his fellows to join him in deliberation on the crisis; and then, on the unexpected entrance of the queen, mother and regent, bespeaks for her a fitting reverence.

In thought, as well as in outward form, we are throughout reminded of the choric song of the *Agamemnon* already mentioned. The old men, trusted counsellors of a queen-regent, the gloomy feeling about an absent army, the misgivings as to the righteousness of their cause, the fear that, be that cause never so righteous, they may yet by cruelty or irreverence pass under the wrath of heaven, are common to both plays, and suggest that Aeschylus in the more finished work may have had the earlier in mind. The dramatic effect of the entrance of the queen is similar in each case.

1. τρεῖς μὲν—i.e. ἀμφί. The Chorus in their first words explain who they are, and what (l. 8) is the motive of their song. This information would usually be given by the speaker of the Prologue. See above.

2. πιστὴ—i.e. of πιστός. Cp. l. 681. The abstract neuter is here followed by a genitive. "The faithful watch left by the Persians (i.e. the king and nobles) who have gone forth to Grecian shores." For the word as applied to Persian counsellors cp. Xenophon *Anab.* i. 5, 15 ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν. Cp. also γαλαῖα πιστόματα in l. 171.

3. καὶ πολυχρότων—These words are by some editors thought to be a gloss upon τῶν ἀφνειῶν (see on l. 6). But if this were true of the adjective we should still have to account for the intrusion of καὶ into the text. For the adjective cp. ll. 9, 45, 53, also ll. 79 and 159. It is always characteristic of Aeschylus to use a word repeatedly in the same play or passage; here there is a special poetical fitness in the repetition of the epithet "golden" and its derivative as applied to Persia, her city and army, since pride of wealth was the precursor, and even the cause (see on l. 163), of her fall.

4. κατὰ σπουδαίαν—"by virtue of our rank"; not merely "of our years". So the Scholiast.

5. αἰετὸς ἀναξ—The absolute nature of Persian rule is indicated, and is meant to jar upon Athenian ears. See on l. 213.

6. The MSS. have Δαπέων νόσ, a manifest gloss on Δαπέωνος, which, being written by its side, has crept into the text.

7. ἀρπαξάν—"to govern". Cp. *Æsup.* 530. So *τρωάδ*

in *Æsup.* 929, *ἔσπερτεω*, *Cho.* 1. Here the verb takes a genitive after the analogy of *ἀρπαξάν*.

9. πολυχρότων—See on l. 8. The splendour of the army, glittering with gold, is meant.

10. κατόμαρτις...ἴσθεω—"My soul from within me is all too sorely stirred and becomes a prophet of ill", i.e. my foreboding soul is its own prophet. Cp. *θυμόμαρτις* in l. 224, also *Agam.* 942, &c. especially the words *μαρτιπέλοι δ' ἀεικλυότες ἐμασθεσὶ δαῖδά*, and

τὸν δ' ἄνευ λόρας ἔμωι θυμῷ
θρήνων Ἐρωτὸς ἀποδίδασκετο ἔσθεω
θυμῷ.

So too Hamlet's "O my prophetic soul!"

The Scholiasts explain *ἀρπαξάν* by *ταράσσειν*, or *κινεῖν*. In the Homeric hymn to *Hermes* we have

ἦ με βοῶν ἔτιχ' ὄδε χολόμαρσι ἀρπαξάντι;

i.e. "doest thou provoke me?" and the adjective *ἀρπαξάντις* is used by Anacreon as an epithet of *Ares*, "blustering". Perhaps this verb is merely a lengthened and emphatic poetical variation of *ἀρναῖν*, the termination never having had any significance (compare *μελάγχμιος*, *δοσχιμος*, both used by Aeschylus). Aristotle would call such a word *ἐξηλλαγμένον* i.e. varied in form (*Poet.* a. 21), his instance being *δειξτερόν* for *δειξίον*. The same account would hold for *ἀρπαξάντις*, which is the reading of one MS.

12—13. The reading of the text is that of all MSS. Two reasons are given for the distress and anxiety just described: (1) the whole force of Asia has gone forth; (2) no message comes home. To the former of these the clause *νῆον δ' ἄδρα βαῖται* is attached, being virtually equivalent to *ὄστε βαῖται ἀδρῶν (τὸν θυμῶν) τῶν νῆον ἄδρα*. "The whole force of Asia has gone forth, and my soul yearns and cries aloud for its young hero." This appears better than, with one Scholiast, to take *Ἀσία*, supplied out of *Ἀσιαγενεῖς*, for the subject to *βαῖται*. The verb occurs in a somewhat similar context in *Agam.* 447 *τῶδε σὶ γὰρ τις βαῖται*, of the inarticulate expression of a people's discontent at the prolonged absence of its king and army. Here it is used transitively. The words *νῆον ἄδρα* are usually understood of *Xerxes*, though the expression is somewhat strange. The variation *ὄχλας*, *τὸν δ' ἄδρα βαῖται*, which, so far as letters go, is the same reading, is perhaps possible, the epic *ἄδ* being supported by other epic forms in this play (see on l. 782): it would mean, as a Scholiast suggests, "its own hero". Herodotus in speaking of the consternation caused at *Susa* by the news of the defeat, adds *ἐκ οὗτο δὲ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀχθῶναι ταῦτα* of *Ἰλέρου ἐταίρων* *ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Ζήτησ' ἄρα*.



NOTES.

This concentration of feeling on one person comes out only in the play, and is perhaps indicated here.

For the elaborate system of posts (ἀγγαρεύς) established by Persians to send home news on this occasion cp. Herod. 7-8, and see Introd. p. xxxiii.

εἶπε—i. e. *επὶ τοῖσιν* of κ. τ. λ.

ἐπαύρων—So all MSS. The form Ἀγβάρα is found in l. 1. 98, &c.

Κίσσιων—Of Cissia, a province of Susiana. For the cp. *Εὐβλίων ἔρις* in *Prom.* 811. *Κισσιανὸν* would be more correct; but, as Mr Paley points out, Aeschylus imagined a city, of which *Κίσσιων* would be the proper adjective. Cp.

βαῖνον—Adverb descriptive of the slow, compact march of an army. Cp. *εὐρόν* l. 54.

εὐτόμος—(cp. l. 866) "a dense array of war".

In the spirit of an epic poet (cp. the end of *Il.* II.) Aeschylus gives a list of Persian leaders. Their names, here rehearsed with pride and circumstance, though the note of misgiving has already been struck, are introduced partly to intensify the effect of disaster when the same names are heard in the list of the slain; partly to suggest details of Eastern history, gratifying the historical curiosity of the audience (much as the details of wanderings in the *Prometheus* gratify its geographical curiosity); and still more to give vividness and reality, because the names had been, but were no longer, sounds of terror to Athenians who heard the play. Some of the names we do not meet elsewhere; they may have been coined by the poet; others may have been slightly altered in form. We may partly notice the frequent recurrence of the long *a* sound, as *γαβάρης*, *Ἀρταμάρης*, *Φαρανδάκης*, *Σουστάνης*.

Ἀρίστηρος—cp. l. 840.

Ἀρταφέρνης—i. e. Artaphernes, Herodotus (vii. 74) mentions him as commanding Mysians and Lydians. He had been a liegeman of Darius in the former invasion. Cp. l. 776.

Μεγάβατος—Herod. (vii. 97) mentions *Μεγάβατος ὁ βασιλεὺς* as a commander of the fleet.—*Ἀσπίδων*—From the same person as *Τορσίων* (Herod. vii. 64), a son of Darius and Atossa.

καὶ γὰρ—Again in l. 824 and l. 480, also in *Prom.* 824: *καὶ γὰρ* 110.

βασιλεὺς βασιλέως ἑσπερος—Cp. Herod. viii. 67: "Παροικισμένοι οἱ τῶν ἰσθμίων τῶν σφετέρων τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἰσθμίων, καὶ ἵππων οἱ σφί βασιλεὺς ἑσπερος τῶν ἰσθμίων".

NOTES.

ἰδεόμενος". The Persian king affected the title of "king of kings". Thus in the (alleged) epitaph of Cyrus—

ἰθάδ' ἐγὼ κάμει Κύρος, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.

Cp. *Thucyd.* 855 and Conington's note.

25. εὐτόμος—a rare form, used several times by Aeschylus, for *εὐτόμος*.

26. τοξοδάμαντες—Cp. l. 80, l. 926, also l. 85. The bow was the national weapon of Persia (see on l. 147). *τοξοδάμαντες* Horsemanship also was their pride, as shewn in the well known three points of Persian education: to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth (Herod. i. 186).

28. εὐλόγητον—M. has *εὐλόγητον*, but is corrected by other MSS. The phrase is *epic*, and suggests the joy of battle (*χάρμης* of the next line).

29. Ἀρταμάρης (α)—Cp. l. 802, also l. 971. *τοξοδάμαντες*—again in l. 106.

30. Μασίστης—again 971. In both places M. has *Μασίστης*; but cp. Herod. vii. 82 and ix. 107, where *Μασίστης*, a son of Darius and Atossa, is mentioned.

31. Φαρανδάκης—Herodotus twice (vii. 79 and ix. 76) mentions a *Pharandates*.

32. Σουστάνης (α)—For the spondee before the last syllable of the paroemiac see on l. 152. Here it was clearly Aeschylus' intention to use a number of long syllables, especially in the proper name. See above on l. 21.

33. Cp. *Supp.* 855 for the fertility and life-giving virtues of Nile.

37. Ἀρσάμης—cp. Herod. vii. 69.

ἀγγαρεύς—Ancient. In l. 974 the epithet is applied to Athens, in *Theb.* 821 to *Grecian Thebes*.

38. Ἀρτίμαρδος—cp. l. 821. He is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 67 and 78) as a son of Darius.

39. Δαοβάρης—The inhabitants of the Delta of the Nile. Cp. *Thuc.* i. 110, *μαχυνόμενοι εἰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἑσπερος*.

41. ἀβροβαλίτων—Cp. Herod. i. 155.

42. οἱ ἐπί τῶν κ. τ. λ.—"and they who people in all its length the continent", i. e. not the Lydians only but the Ionian Greeks also who dwelt on the same mainland. Two constructions seem to be combined—

(1) οἱ κατέχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν κ. τ. λ. ἡμετέρας

(2) οἱ κατέχουσιν τὰς τῶν κ. τ. λ. ἡμετέρας

ἐπὶ τῶν or *ἐπί τῶν* as an adverb usually means "on the whole, generally"; here it is equivalent to *καταλόγως*, *διόλου*. Some

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take it to be an adjective, but compounds of *ras* make the neuter termination short.

44. Ἀρακίς—cp. l. 44.

βασίλεις—see on l. 24. βίωσις—formed from the epic βίωσις. Thus Hom. *Il.* ii. 207:

ὡς ἔγχε κεραιῶν βίωσις στρατῶν

i. e. marshalled the army.

45. πολέχρυσος—see on l. 8. ἐπέχουσι—"riding in chariots". In l. 54 the word is used with a genitive.

46. ξερμαίνω—This verb is used correctly of Sardis which sends forth its troops, by zeugma of the captains who lead them on. The verb is a strong one, meant to suggest, by way of excuse for their conduct, the compulsion under which the Ionian Greeks served.

47. "In ranks of two or three poles abreast", that is, in column of march, when two or three chariots, each with one pole, i. e. two horses, went abreast. Schol. *τέθριπτα...ξείρινα τλαφόμενα*. Thus the line describes the numbers of the chariots; a smaller number would have moved (as these must have done on ordinary roads) singly.

48. Cp. l. 27. προσβίβησις—with the middle voice cp. *στρέφει* in l. 62.

49. "The dwellers near sacred Tmolus (Lydians) are straining to cast the net of slavery around Hellas". *στρέφει*. There are traces of an old reading *στρέφει*, explained by the Scholiast as an instance of the "Sohema Pindaricum," more probably due to the fact that the singular forms alone of this verb are found in Homer. The verb is several times used by him in the sense of "to be in act intent" to do something, often with a notion of boasting, thus: *Il.* iii. 83 *στρέφει γὰρ τι ἔπος εἰπὼν κορυθαίολος* Έκτωρ. Cp. *Od.* xi. 584.

51. λόγχης ἀκρονες—"anvils of the spear", i. e. on whom the foeman's spears ring, as hammer blows on an anvil. Cp. Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, Act iv. Sc. v. where Aufidius says:

"Here I clip

The anvil of my sword"

i. e. the armed body of his old enemy; also "sonantem Palladis Aegida"—Horace *Od.* iii. 4, 57.

52. The poet passes to the Eastern extremity of the Persian empire.

ἀκρονες—Cp. Herod. vii. 74, *ἀκρονες δὲ ἔχρησσε ἐκαστῶν* (cf. *Μύσος*).

53. πολέχρυσος—See on l. 8.

ἐπίφρατον ἔχλων—Some of the contempt which the Athe-

nian poet would feel for the motley host of Xerxes passes into the speech of the Persian elders. So *ἀβροδαίτων*, l. 41 &c.

54. ἐπέδην—adverb, descriptive of the loose order in which the Babylonian mob swept through the roads; Lat. *tractim*, it is contrasted to *βέδην*, l. 19, which describes the march of steady troops. *ἐπέδην* is used by later writers of the sweep of rivers, so the metaphor of l. 86, *μεγάλῳ βέλει φωνῶν*, may perhaps be compared.

54. ἐπέδην—see on l. 45.

55. The phrase is formed on an epic model; cp. *δακρυοβόλος*, &c. For *πυρῶς* with the dative cp. *Prom.* 919.

56. The Persian sword, or scimitar, is described by Herodotus (vii. 54) *Περσικὸν ξίφος ἐν ἀκνάρῳ καλέουσι*.

57. "At the dread summons of the king." In *Agam.* 802 the compulsion exercised by the Atridae, "forcing courage upon dying men", is part of the grievance against them. Here the words are meant to jar on the ears of Athenians, who served for the free love of country.

59—64. Such are the men who have gone forth to Hellas; hence this weary watching of our country which gave them nurture for all; of wives and parents, each for their own.

62. The feeling expressed by *βαθῆα* in l. 18. Cp. *Agam.* 545. For the verb in the middle cp. *Théb.* 872. Cp. also *προμύθησις* in l. 64, and *προβίβησις* in l. 48. *πέφραται*—The active voice is used intransitively of place, but not usually of time.

65—189. The Chorus, having reached their stations about the Thymele, begin the first Stasimon (see on l. 1). The strain is still one of foreboding.—The king has gone forth; he has placed his yoke upon the Hellespont; he is sternly driving on his hosts by sea and land to meet the famed spearmen his foe. Who shall be of any account to withstand that wave of war, the brave army of Persia? Yet if the god be driving him to ruin, how shall man, be he never so nimble, escape the heaven-spread toils? For conquest, and battles and sieges were of old ordained for Persians, but now they have learned to look on the sea and to dare its passage.—Therefore my heart within me is darkened; I fear lest the cities of Persia have to mourn for the host which has crossed the sea, and which comes back no more.

The metre of the first two pairs of Strophes and of the Epodus is the "Ionic a minore", consisting of the foot of that name (— — —), and familiar to us from Horace's attempt (*Odes* iii. 12), relieved by a few anapaests. The metre of the remaining three pairs of Strophes is chiefly trochaic. The somewhat monotonous yet tumultuous rhythm of the Ionic measure well suits the alternate pride and foreboding of the old men.

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65. *περὶ πτελέως*—So called by a somewhat insolent prolepsis. Cp. l. 178.

67. "Having crossed the strait of Hella daughter of Athamas on a rope-bound bridge."—The strait is called by its full mythological name to bring it into forcible contrast with the paltry device by which Xerxes had dared to cross it.

Λυωδέσμιον—referring to the six cables, two of flax and four of papyrus, which were drawn across the strait above the ships, to hold them together, and to support the roadway (Herod. vii. 86, and Grote chap. xxxviii.).

71. *πολλόγυρον ἔσπεμα*—"a roadway of many a clamp" refers rather to the whole bridge of boats than to the mere roadway. There is suppressed contempt in the words, as in *λυωδέσμιον* above.

73. *θεῖρος*—Cp. l. 754.

75. *ρωμαίριον θαλάσσιον*—Founded on the Homeric *ρωμαίσι λαῶν*. Cp. *ρωμαίριον* l. 241.

76. "In two parts, trusting, both on land and by sea, to strong and stern overseers."—As in l. 58 the compulsion put upon the Persian soldiers is dwelt upon. *ἐκ τοῦ θαλάσσιου* i.e. *πλευρῆος* τοῦ *ἐκ* is used like the Latin *e* in such phrases as "ex parte maris" &c. Cp. *ἐξ ἐπὶ ῥόδου* l. 462, *χερσὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης* *Agam.* 116.

80. *χρυσόγενος γυναικῶς*—An allusion to the story of Perseus, the mythical ancestor of the Persians, born of Danae, whom Zeus visited in a shower of gold. The reading of the MSS. is *χρυσόγενος*, i.e. *χρυσῆς* (see on l. 8), but most editors prefer the more poetical reading given in the text.

λευκῶσ φάος—Cp. l. 157.

81. "Flashing from his eyes the dark glance of the deadly serpent."—*κρυδῶσ* is a frequent epithet of the eyebrows, meaning dark, i.e. grim. Thus *βλεφάρων ἐπὶ κρυδῶσ*—Hesiod *Shield of Hercules* 7. It is also used of the colour of a snake's body in the same poem l. 167 and by Homer. Here we might understand it either of the grim glance, or, by hypallage, of the glance of the dark serpent. There is a reference to the superstitious dread of a serpent's glance. Mr Koble (*Prælect.* Vol. i. p. 302) thinks that some hereditary peculiarity of feature in Xerxes is intended. The last two syllables of *κρυδῶσ* are scanned as one by synizesis. Cp. *θεοὶ* l. 157, *καρφορῆς* l. 317.

84. *Σέρπειν ὁ ἄρρα δῶκεν*—In the oracle given to the Athenians at Delphi (Herod. vii. 140) we find

κατὰ γὰρ μὲν ἔπειτα

ὡπρὸς καὶ ἐξ ἑστὸς ἄρρα Σερπιγγῶσ ἄρρα δῶκεν.

The Scholiast tells us that Syrian is here used for Assyrian, a common confusion (cp. Herod. vii. 68: *οἶμαι ἐπὶ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλλῶσ Σύρια, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύρια ἐκλήθησεν*). The Persians, as the inhabitants of a mountain region, would not make use of war-chariots, till they learnt to employ them from the Assyrians of the Mesopotamian plain,—Rawlinson on Herodotus l. c. For the use of *δῶκεν* cp. *Theb.* 371, *Eum.* 402; and so in Homer of ships.

85. The national weapons of Persia and of Greece are opposed as in l. 147, and in *δουρικλύτους* we have a touch to gratify Athenian pride. *τεξέσθαι μὲν* cp. l. 26.

86. "But (be they never so famous with the spear), none is so proved a warrior that he may withstand our mighty wave of men, or restrain by firm barriers the invincible wave of the sea." The construction is *οἶδεις δὲ (τῶν δουρικλύτων) οὐτω δόκιμος ἔστω ὥσπερ, ὑπὸσπῆσ τῷ μεγάλῳ ῥέματι, ἀργεῖν κ.τ.λ.* The easy metaphor of l. 86, a man trying to withstand a stream, is deepened into the more forcible one of l. 87. With the first metaphor we may compare Homer's weird account of Achilles' conflict with the river Scamander (*Il.* xxi. 257-371) which fills up the picture suggested by *ὑπὸσπῆσ*, though we need not suppose that Aeschylus had that passage in mind.

93. Cp. l. 104.

θεοὶ—for the synizesis see on l. 81. *θεαρός* emphatic, *θεαρός* ὦν.

94-100. But, though army be strong and people valiant, yet if the gods be luring man to ruin, none may escape their toils. The idea that the gods watch jealously the prosperous, and delight in their downfall, belongs to Aeschylus' earlier creed. In *Eum.* 585 it is impiety alone which leads to ruin: in *Agam.* 750 the wrong popular notion is expressly denied. Yet even there the god is represented as triumphing in the helpless state of the sinner, though of none other, when the day of justice comes. *Agam.* 396 &c.

95. "Who has so nimble a foot? who is master of a bound so light (that he may escape the gods)?" *δυσέσσω* is the reading of all MSS., and is to some extent paralleled by *κόπης ἑσπῆς* in l. 378. *ἀνέσσω* is a correction of Turnebus, which has been adopted by Brunck, Hermann, and others. *εἰσέρωσ*—For the synizesis see on l. 81.

97. Here M. has

*φιλόφρον γὰρ οὐδὲν
οὐ τὸ πρῶτον παράγει
βροτῶν εἰς ἀκρίβησιν.*

Though we have no antistrophe to guide us, the prevailing

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metre of the epodos is evidently the "Ionic a minore" (see on l. 65). We can hardly hesitate to accept Scidler's reading *παρσάβια*, on which the words *εάουσα τὸ πρῶτον παρῶγει* are a natural gloss, which may easily have crept into the text.

παρσάβια—Compounds of *παρῶ* mean to do anything to a man's hurt, thus *παρῶγει*, *παρῶφάττω* &c.

de ἄρκυα &c. for *ἀρκίστατα* is due to Hermann, and is supported by the Scholiast, who quotes passages from Homer about Atē.

100. Cp. *Agam.* 354—361,

ἤτ' ἐπὶ Τροίᾳς πύργους ἔβαλε
στειγανὸν ἔκτανος, ὡς μήτε μέγαν
μήτ' εἴν νεκρῶν τῶν ὑπερτέλλεται
μέγα δουλείας
γέγγαμος, ἄτης παραλότου.

101—109. Fate made her ordinance firmly of old, appointing to the Persian wars of conquest by land.

101. *Μοῖρα*—Fate, she who divides or distributes to each his portion, and takes care that he keeps to it.

105. "Wars in which towers are destroyed." *πυργοδακτεως* belongs to a class of Aeschylean epithets which are passive in form, but of which the passive force can only be brought out by a periphrasis. So *κωνῶν ἀδροδακτεω*, *Cho.* 860, i.e. "axes with which men are slain"; *ἄτης παραλότου*, *Agam.* 361 " (the net) of Atē, in which all are taken".

106. *Σείσω*—cp. l. 44.

ἰπποχάρμας—cp. l. 39.

107. *ἀναστρέψας*—cp. *Agam.* 589, *ἔλωσω Ἴλιον τ' ἀνάστασιν*.

108. *ἔμαθον δ'*—The Greek poets often unfavourably contrast knowledge after acquired and learnt from others with that which comes by nature. Thus Pindar—

εἴφοι δ' πολλὰ εἶδός φεψ
μαθίστη δὲ κ.τ.λ.

Ol. II. 86.

The language here used about the sea, "with its broad pathways, which the rough wind frets to whiteness", is in contemptuous though suppressed contrast to that used about the bridge, "with its fine spun cables, its shifts for putting a host across the straits". The sea in the mouth of a Persian would suggest danger, to an Athenian hearer safety and delight.

109—112. Now they have learnt to look on the sea and to trust flimsy devices for crossing it. Here then is the fear, that in this new line of adventure the gods may be preparing an

unforeseen danger. The crossing of the Hellespont is the primary cause of alarm, but this is extended to all meddling with matters concerning the sea, a new and untried element to Persians.

111. *ἑσπερῶν*—cp. Horace *Od.* I. 8, 18, &c.—

Qui sicis oculis monstra natantia,
Qui vidit mare turgidum, &c.

πέπτιον ἄλωα—The sea is called a sacred enclosure (cp. *τίμειος αἰθέρος* in l. 365) on which the Persians have dared to trespass. So *ἄλλορτων ἄλωα* in *Supp.* 848.

114. *ταῦτα*—"Therefore"; lit. "with reference to this", the accusative being governed by the verbal action of the sentence generally. Cp. l. 159 and l. 165. So in *Soph. O. T.* 1005.

μελαγχίτων—i.e. *μέλαινα*, from the Homeric *ἄμφιμέλαινα*. So *Theognis* 1199 *καὶ μοι κραδίη ἐπάταξε μέλαινα*, and *Cho.* 413 *σπλάγχχα δὲ μοι κελαιούται*. The first part only of the compound is really significant, the latter part perhaps vaguely suggests the notion of darkness shrouding the heart like a mantle, and so emphasises the picture of gloom, but it does not affect the meaning of the whole word. Cp. *ἔξοχει* in *Cho.* 28, on which see Conington's note.

115. *ἀμύσσειται*—Cp. l. 161.

116. *ὄα*—a Persian exclamation recurring many times in this play. Here it is the audible expression of *φόβος* in the last line, and is effectively placed between *φόβος* and *στρατεύματος*, the word which shows the direction of the fear. Translate "Therefore my darkling heart is torn by fear, alas and well-a-day! for this Persian host, lest our city learn that the great capital of Susa's land is emptied of her men".

117. *πόλις* is the city generally including its citizens, *ἔστυ* the buildings and streets. The two words are used by Homer together, as

φράζτο νῦν ἔστυσι καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἔστυ σάδεις.

Hom. *Il.* XVII. 144.

Others take *στρατεύματος* as the genitive after *ἐπείθεω*, or it might be taken as following the interjection, as in *Theb.* 597:

φεῦ τοῦ συναλλάσσοντος ἑστίης κ.τ.λ.

119. *τὸ Κισσίων πόλις*—See on l. 17.

120. *ἀντιδουκων ἔστυται*—"be heard in loud response". The word is descriptive of the sound of breasts beaten in mourning. Observe the construction, *μη πόλις πτόηται... ἔστυται... πόλις*. The aorist subjunctive and future indicative are frequently



found in the same sentence, in a deliberation, as in *Cho.* 88, or in a final clause after *δρασι*, as in *Cho.* 264—5. The present case is different, because a future indicative does not usually stand alone with *αἰ*, as it does after *δρασι* or in deliberation. Here the clause with the future may be an independent statement (the poet expressing as a future fact the mourning of the city of Cissa); which is loosely appended to the first clause containing a subjunctive verb, and followed by another containing a subjunctive verb, thus forming a parenthesis between them. But see Mr Paley's note on the grammatical point, and the instances there quoted.

121. *ροῦν' ἔπος*—i.e. *ἀδ*. The construction is in effect a nominative absolute, *ἔμλος* being in loose apposition with *ρόσημα*.

125. For rent garments as a sign of Oriental mourning cp. l. 199, l. 587, l. 885, and l. 1060 of this play, also *Choeph.* 27, the Chorus of that play being probably Trojan captives.

126. For the connexion of thought see on l. 109.

127. *πεδοστῆθις*—"travelling on foot". So *Supp.* 1000. But *ἠλιοστῆθις* in *Prom.* 791, "travelled over by the sun".

129. The metaphor of bees swarming out and leaving the hive (i.e. Susa) empty seems to be as original as it is striking.

ἠελοῦσεν—has gone forth and left the hive empty. So in *Theb.* 901, also in Herodotus viii. 50 *ἐμπερῆσαι Θεσπιῶν τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸν ἐλελειπτότων*. Cp. *Soph. El.* 19 and 1149.

130. "Having gone forth and crossed the spur jutting into the sea, common to either land, by which both shores are yoked." The bridge of boats which projected at its two ends from either land into the sea, and yet being one bridge was common to both shores is, by a harsh metaphor, thus designated. For *ἀμφίβενκτον* in this sense see on l. 105. This is Blomfield's rendering, and is approved by Linwood, but the exact meaning of the words of the text cannot be certainly settled. The Scholiast takes *πρὸν' ἄλιον* of the Hellespont itself, the water thrust out between Asia and Europe as a promontory of land is thrust out into the sea. Hermann understands by *πρὸν* the shore on either side, quoting l. 879. Cp. *Agam.* 807 as to the word *πρὸν*.

135. For the construction *Περσίδες*—*ἐκάστα*—*λείπεται*, cp. *Hom. Il.* xvi. 264—

*οἱ δ' ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχοντες
πρῶσσω κῆς πέταται, καὶ ἀμύνει οἷσι τίκεσαι.
ἀβροπυθῆς*—"in tenderness of grief". The MSS. have

ἀκροπυθῆς. The alteration, which is a very slight one, since *β* and *κ* are much alike both in uncial and cursive writing, and which is supported by the interpretation of the Scholiast, is due to Mr Paley. The word would be naturally used of the grief of Asiatic women (cp. *ἀβρόγυοι*, l. 541). *ἀκροπυθῆς* would mean *ἀκραί πένθος*, i.e. in extreme grief.

ἐκάστα πόθῃ φιλόνορι—repeated from l. 133, only here the mourning of each woman for her own lord is particularised. Cp. *Agam.* 411, *στίβοι φιλόνορες*, in a passage where the chilly sadness of the couch which the wife has left is pictured. Cp. also *Agam.* 856, *τοῖσι φιλόνοραι τρόπους*.

136. *εὐνατῆρα*—cp. l. 157.

ἀποπεψαμένα—is the better supported reading, though *προπεψαμένα* has MS. authority, and the MSS. cannot always be trusted as to the insertion or omission of *ρ* after consonants. The latter would perhaps suit the passage better; on the other hand, *ἀποπέμπεσθαι* is used (as in Herod. vi. 63) for "to divorce", an association which would give some force to this passage.

139. *μονότυξ*—A rare compound, which is really an oxymoron in itself: "in a single union", i.e. in a loneliness more lonely because it replaces union. Cp. *μόνος ὢν ἐφεδρος*, *Cho.* 866.

140. Here, the Ode being finished, the leader addresses his fellows in a few anapaestic lines as he turns to the matter in hand.

ἄγε—The singular as in *Eum.* 307.

Πύρραι, cp. l. 1, l. 171.

141. *στῆγος ἀρχαῶν*—i.e. the royal palace, in front of which the proscenium lies.

143. *χρεία δὲ προσήκα*—A prose writer would have used *γάρ* rather than *δέ*. See on l. 13.

144. *ἄρα*—like Latin *scilicet*. The deliberation, which in the absence of news from the seat of war promises to be a barren one, is to be as to the probable success of Xerxes and the Persians. For the prominence given to the former see on l. 12.

145. *Δαριογενῆς*—cp. l. 6.

146. "Our own blood, as his forefather's name shows," i.e. true-born son of Perseus the eponymus of the Persians. See on l. 80; the form *πατρώνυμιον* seems to be supported by *ἑκωνύμιος*, used by Pindar and Herodotus. *γένος* then is used for *συγγενῆς*, and so the Scholiast explains it.

147. For the Persian bow opposed to the Greek spear cp. l. 85.

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150. Here Atossa enters, borne forth from her palace in a car or litter of state (cp. l. 607). The old men, following the Coryphaeus, rise and prostrate themselves.

150. "A light equal to the eyes of the gods." An Oriental hyperbole is intended. See on l. 80. The Scholiast however interprets "who is a light to my eyes, equal to gods" and so most editors.

152. *προσπίπτω*—This reading places a spondee before the last syllable of the paroemiac. See on l. 82. Hermann gives *προπίπτω*, *προπίπτω*, Mr Paley *προπίπτωμεν*. Such prostration was necessary before addressing a Persian monarch. For a Greek's opinion on such ceremony see *Agam.* 919—925.

155. As directed, the old men address the queen in words of homage. The dialogue opens in the trochaic tetrameter, the ancient metre of tragedy, afterwards superseded by the more conversational trimeter iambic (τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρον ἐχρόντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν, λέξουσὲ δὲ γενναίως αὐτῇ ἢ φύσει τὸ οἰκίον μέτρον εἶπε μάλιστα γὰρ λεπτύνει τῶν μέτρων τὸ λαμβάνειν ἔστιν, *Ar. Poet.* c. 4). In the later period of the drama the old metre was reserved for passages full of movement and excitement, especially the *ἐξοδὸς* or end of a play. Here it well suits the tumultuous and somewhat extravagant language and gestures exhibited.

155. *βαθυγύνη*—an Homeric epithet often applied to Ionian women, also to goddesses. In *Cho.* 168 it is used as an epithet of any woman as distinguished from a man. It means deep-girdled, i.e. with girdle worn low on the body, so that the robes flowed in wide curves over it. See note on l. 181.

Προσπίπτω—the genitive is governed, *ἀπὸ κοινῶς*, either by *ἑσσεσθαι*, or by *ὕπερτάτη*.

157. *εὐνήταρα*—cp. l. 186. It is best taken as a vocative, this line being a continuation of the last. Instead of ending *καὶ θεοῦ μήτηρ*, the speaker varies the construction, as the thought arises that disaster may even already have proved Xerxes to be mortal enough, and that he is not to be called unconditionally "a god". For this title of Persian monarchs cp. l. 80.

158. *δαίμων παλαιός*—"The old fortune of the house", here personified as a supernatural power. The word occurs frequently in this play; see l. 601, where it is used in a good, ll. 472, 911, 921, where in a bad sense.

στρατῶ—Several MSS. have *στρατοῦ*. The dative gives the best sense, the *δαίμων* belonging to the house rather than to the army. "Unless in aught the ancient luck of the house have changed for (i.e. to the mischief of) the army."

159—176. Atossa briefly unfolds the fear of her heart; which is lest Xerxes' great wealth may have led him on to folly and ruin. She sees two evils in the world; wealth may mislead, but poverty may enfeeble; and which is the worse? As for her own house, wealth there is, and plenty; but is her darling being ruined by it? On this she would confer with the old men; they promise ready and loyal counsel.

159. *ταῦτα δὲ*—"Therefore." See on l. 114.

Χρυσεσσόμενος—See on l. 8.

161. *καρδίαν*—is governed by the verb, *με* by the whole verbal action expressed by *καρδίαν ἐμύσσει*. "Care heart-fends me." So often in Homer: thus *Il.* xviii. 78,

τίκτω τί κλάεις; τί δὲ σε φέρας ἔκροε πέθοι;

For *ἐμύσσει* cp. l. 115.

162. "Being in no sort free from fears caused by myself (i.e. not suggested by words of yours)." The genitive is attached to the adjective, and shows the source from which the terror might originate. So *φίλων ἀκλαυστος* *Soph. Ant.* 847, i.e. "unwept by friends"; *κακῶν ἀτρέμονος* *Aesch. Theb.* 875. It is otherwise taken as equivalent to *περὶ ἐμαυτῆς* (see on l. 692); but Atossa does not suggest fear for herself, being wholly wrapt up in thoughts of Xerxes. The source of the fear is further explained in l. 165.

163. The fear of Atossa is lest the possession of vast wealth should urge Xerxes to a headlong course, in which he should overthrow his own inherited fair fortune. But the action is attributed to the wealth itself, not to its possessor. Cp. *Agam.* 1005:

*καὶ πότμος εὐθυγορῶν
ἀδρόσι ἐταίειν ἔφαλλον ἔργα.*

κόνιστος εἶδες—A familiar Homeric phrase, though used here somewhat harshly. Thus *Il.* xiv. 145 *εὐρὸν κόνιστον πέδιον*. So *κόνισι* simply in *Theb.* 60, cp. *Prom.* 962. The participle is perhaps in the aorist because it is after wealth has taken its sting that the reverse is dreaded.

164. Darius himself uses similar language in ll. 751, 759.

165. *ταῦτα*—"As to this, therefore." Cp. ll. 114, 159.

διπλῆ μέριμν' ἄφραστος—The same as the *φροντίς* in l. 161, "A dilemma, or two-edged thought, which I cannot express clearly". This dilemma is given in the two following lines, "Neither men without wealth are perfect, nor wealth without men." *μέριμνα* (*μέριμναι*, *μερίμναι*) is used strictly for an anxiety which draws the mind two ways. This is called *ἄφραστος* because, take it either way, the fond mother cannot bear to put



her fears into words. In the next two lines she indicates, though she hardly puts into plain words, the μέριμνα, on which she then asks the old man for counsel. The absence of caesura in the middle of the trochaic tetrameter is very rare.

166. Her twofold anxiety is,

(1) that wealth without men do never have honour from her. The emphasis is on the word *men*, and the phrase *χορημάτων ἀνδρῶν κλήρος* would be interpreted with some contempt by Athenians, cp. l. 849. The word *ἀνδρῶν* also suggests the possible desolation of wealthy Susa if her men did not return, a thought which the Chorus had anticipated. See l. 118.

(2) The fact that those who want wealth never enjoy that light of success which otherwise might shine on them. With this thought in her mind she afterwards asks the question about the Athenian resources (l. 237).

The expression of this twofold care is imperfect. The first clause properly follows *μέριμνα* ("my care is not to honour"), the second is really an *objective* statement of fact, though grammatically coupled to the former by *μήτε*.

168—9. The application of the preceding lines. "For wealth, if wealth were all, ours cannot be gainsaid", (and therefore the *second* danger does not apply to us). But I fear (not for the loss of our men generally, as one might expect her to say, but) for the light of my eyes, i.e. Xerxes.

The metaphor of *ὀφθαλμοῖς* is not quite the same with that of *ὄμμα δέμον*. The *former* is a strong expression of a somewhat oriental type, by which one's dearest object is called "the light of one's eyes". Cp. Catullus, "Quem plus illa oculis suis amabat", cp. also l. 150. This is explained in the following line by the more familiar figure by which the most precious part of anything is called the eye (in the singular) of that thing. Cp. *Cho.* 984, where Orestes is called *ὀφθαλμὸς οἴκου*, i.e. the eye, or one hope, of his father's house; or Catullus xxxi. "Paene insularum, Sirmio, insularumque Ocella". For an accumulation of metaphors to describe the *δεσπότην παρθεῖα* cp. Clytemnestra's speeches in *Agam.* 896, 966, &c.

170. *ὡς εἶπες* *ἐχέτω* *τῶνδε*, the tautology passing muster in the old-fashioned metre.

171. *Πέποι*.—See on l. 140.

ἡραλὰ πικτέματα an equivalent of *πικρά* in l. 2. The word should mean "pledges", but is here used without reference to that meaning. So Aeschylus has *στέργγερα* (*Prom.* 493), meaning not "love-charms", but "loves". The inadequacy of

his vocabulary and his need of sonorous words may account for such expressions.

172. *κἄν*.—Cp. l. 142.

ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστω.—"rest on you". Cp. *Soph. O. T.* 314, *ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἔστω*.

173. *γῆς ἀνασσα τῆσδε*.—Cp. Atossa's title in l. 155.

φράσαι.—explains *τῶδε*, "know this, that thou dost not (need to) speak twice".

174. *μήτ' ἔπος μήτ' ἔργον*.—A formula meant to embrace everything possible. Thus *ὅ τι θρῶν ἢ τί φωνῶν*. *Soph. O. T.* 71—2.

ὅν ἐν δέναμις ἡγεῖσθαι θάλη.—"In whatsoever our power is able to direct thee". *θάλην* is sometimes used for *μέλλειν* or *φάλλειν*, i.e. to be likely, or wont, here apparently for *δένασθαι*.

175. In answer to Atossa's appeal in l. 170. "We are ready to be your *σύμβουλοι*, and you will find us able ones—to the extent of our powers—and at least well meaning ones." In ll. 215—225 the advice given is rather well meaning than able, and so Atossa (l. 226) thinks it. Cp. l. 520.

176—214. Atossa states the matter on which she needs counsel. She has had an ominous dream, and has seen a vision. The dream was in the night just past. Two women, one Persian in dress, one Grecian, seemed to be contending; then Xerxes tried to calm them, and yoked both to his own chariot. And the Persian woman was tractable, but the Grecian restive; and the chariot was broken and Xerxes thrown out; and lo! his father Darius stood by his side pitying. Then she awoke, and sought, by sacrifice and by fair water, to avert the evil. But with her waking eyes she saw a vision; an eagle entering Phoebus' shrine, and thence chased by a hawk, yet unresisting to its little foe. What does it forebode? Let them have a care what they answer; for, prosperous or ruined, Xerxes will still be their lord. Atossa speaks calmly and with dignity; and her account falls naturally into the iambic metre.

176. Compare Clytemnestra's account of her watchings and her dream during the time of her lord's absence. *Agam.* 891.

177. *ξένημα*.—"am conversant with", i.e. dreams were her companions. So with words of time, thus: *ὁ χρόνος συνός* in *Soph. O. C.* 7, cp. *τοῦ συνεθέσθαι χρόνου* in *Agam.* 894. The present tense is used because the state continues up to the time of speaking.

εὐτολάς στρατῶν.—"having marshalled his host". So *εὐτολάω στρατῶν*, *Agam.* 799. The knowledge of the vast array of Xerxes' forces makes these words emphatic.



178. Ἴόνων γῆν—cp. l. 568. Asiatics called all Greeks Ionians; but here the Athenians, who were true Ionians, are specially meant.

πίπρωι—cp. l. 65.

179. τοῖόνδ' ἐναργῆς—Two expressions are combined (1) τοῖόνδ' ἔναρ, (2) οὔτως ἐναργῆς ἔναρ, "I never saw so clear a dream as this one"; others take ἐναργῆς εἰδέμην (saw distinctly) together. But the point is that this dream was more distinct than any which had gone before. Cp. l. 518; also, for the word ἐναργῆς, *Prom.* 668.

εἰδέμην—For the middle form cp. ll. 48, 62.

181. The two sisters, if we may anticipate the reading of Atossa's dream, are (1) the Ionian colonies, who had submitted to accept Persian dress and manners, (2) the western Greeks generally. No distinction is intended between Ionians and Dorians, the Dorian standing for the old Greek dress. Thus Herod. v. 88, where he explains how the Athenian women came to wear the Ionian (more properly called Carian) instead of the Dorian dress, adds: ἐπεὶ ἤ γα Ἑλληνικῆ ἑσθῆς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς τῶν Δαρδάνων καλέμεν. The Dorian tunic was short, and made of woollen stuff; it had no sleeves and was fastened over the shoulder by brooches (περόναι). The Ionian dress was long and flowing (cp. l. 155) and made of linen, it had no sleeves, and so needed no brooches. (See Rawlinson on Herod. l. c.).

184. ἐκπεπρωτάτα—"most striking". By a well-known Greek idiom the superlative has here a strong comparative force, thus: Hom. *Il.* ii. 678, κἀλλιστος ἀνὴρ.....τῶν ἄλλων Δαρδάνων. The superhuman size would give solemnity to the portent, being characteristic of gods. Thus in Hom. *Od.* xviii. 195, when Athene is preparing Penelope to meet the suitors, she makes her taller and larger: καὶ μὲν μακροτέρην καὶ πᾶσσων θῆκεν ἰδέσθαι. Compare the story of Phya, the woman "of near four cubits height, and comely too", who was dressed up to impersonate Athene on the return of Pisistratus (Herod. ii. 60).

185. ἀμύμη—M. has ἀμύμη, which some editors prefer.

Sisters, i. e. of Ionian race. See on l. 181.

187. κλέμην—As though by way of κληρονομία, or as the gods are said to have cast lots for the different countries of the world.

188. τοῖόνδ'—The masculine of the dual is used on the analogy of the article τὸ with feminine nouns in the dual. This passage would run more simply: ἰδέσκων ὁρᾶν τοῖόνδ' ἐνάειντοῖόνδ' α.τ.λ. Compare Sophocles *Trach.* 1288, ἀνὴρ ὅς ὡς ἔοικεν, εὖ νεμῶν ἐμοί. α.τ.λ.

But observe that in Aeschylus the infinitive stands first, being governed, in the writer's mind, by a verb supplied out of ἰδέσθαι; in Sophocles the infinitive stands after the parenthesis, and must be governed by a verb supplied out of it; so that the construction appears to be purposely involved. Cp. also l. 565.

190. Imperfects, of Xerxes' repeated efforts.

191. "And anon he yokes them", &c.

194. ἔντη—In Homer ἔντη are used for the fittings of anything. Pindar (*Ol.* iv. 84) has the word absolutely, for chariots.

196. "Refusing the bridle", in contrast to l. 198.

ἑρᾶνα μίτρον—"breaks the yoke in half".

198. σφί—used sometimes as the accusative singular by post-Homeric poets. τὸν σ'—i. e. ἀπὸν σ'. This epic use of the article is occasionally found in Aeschylus, more rarely in other Attic poets. Cp. *Eum.* l. The nominative is more often so used than the other cases, as in l. 353.

199. The sight of his father makes Xerxes realise the depth of his own disgrace. Cp. l. 164. Darius had raised the family wealth, he had squandered it. Nor had Darius been present in person at Marathon.

The rending of clothes was a mark of Oriental mourning in men as well as women; and we hear much of it in this play. Cp. Herod. iii. 66. Of Xerxes actually rending his clothes we read in l. 468. Cp. l. 847.

200. νυκτὸς—"the night just passed". Cp. l. 180.

201. "When I had risen", &c.

For the use of pure water to avert the effects of an evil dream cp. Ar. *Frogs*, 1838,

ἀλλὰ μὲν ἀμφόπολοι λῆχρον εἴφατε,
κἀλλιστὶ τ' ἐκ ποταμῶν ὄρεσον ἄρατε, θέμετε δ' ἕδωρ
ὡς ἐν θεῶν ἔνταρον ἀπακλύσει.

Also Eur. *Hec.* 72. The usage referred to is Greek.

202. ἐν θρηνώλει χερῶν—The preposition is redundant, as in l. 755. So in Homer and often in Pindar.

208. βωμὸν προσέστην—"I approached the altar". Some MSS. have βωμῶ, and so Dindorf. The accusative as with προσίζω, προσήθεα. It gives the idea of "motion towards".

204. The rites described are Greek. Herodotus (i. 182) says of the Persians ὅτι βώμοις κεισόμενοι ὅτε πῶ ἀνακαίοντες μύλαστροι θύει, εὖ σπασθῆ χροῖσται, εὖ αἰλῆ, εὖ πέμματα, εὖ κί αἰλῆ. So below l. 206, Phoebus is mentioned. For the "averting deities" cp. Xenophon *Symp.* p. 699, εὐαεῖν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ εἶχε μάλιστα πλουτῶν, καὶ ἄν τι ἔναρ ἀγαθὸν ἴδῃ

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reis *ἀναρροαίους θεοῖς*. In *Choeph.* 523 &c. Clytemnestra sends libations to the dead in consequence of her dream.

ἐν τῷ τῆς—“To whom these rites or mysteries (i.e. of averting the ill of dreams) belong.”

205. *αἰετὸν*—The Ionic form for *αἰετῶν*, which some critics would always read in tragic verse, as well as in prose.

Portents from the flight of eagles and other birds are frequently heard of in Homer. Compare that described in *Agam.* 116, the two eagles which met the chieftains on their outward way. With this one cp. *Macbeth*, Act II. Sc. 4:

“On Tuesday last,

A falcon, towering in her pride of place,
Was by a mousing owl hawked at and killed.”

We, after the event, can interpret as we read, and so could the Athenian audience. The eagle, the king of birds, is Xerxes. The little hawk (*αἰετος διαφρόντατος κερκυρῶν II. XII. 139*) is the Grecian force. First, in the eagle's flight to the shrine of Apollo, we see Xerxes' illtimed attack on Delphi, when, as Herodotus tells us (VIII. 35—39), the god proved himself “able to protect his own”: and then in the onset of the hawk, Apollo's own bird, we see the reverse of Salamis. The description of the hawk standing on his enemy's back and striking his head with his talons is true to nature. Cp. *Hom. Od.* xv. 525,

...αἰετος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος, ἐν δὲ τόδεσσιν
τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων.

A similar portent is narrated by Herodotus (III. 76), as seen by the seven conspirators (of whom Darius was one) and as deciding them to make the attempt against the Magi. *ἐφ' ἧν ἰσθῆεν ἔστα ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπίων ζεύγεα δούκοντα καὶ τῶλοντά τε καὶ ἰμβρόσσοντα.*

209. “He did nought but merely cower and offer his body to the attack.” So *εἰδέν* ἄλλο ᾗ, *τί* ἄλλο ᾗ, are often used by prose writers, and so “*nihil aliud quam*” in Latin. *γε* gives a scornful emphasis.

210. “Such were the terrors (the dream and the portent) which 'twas mine to see, mine I say to see, and yours to hear.” Atossa will not, even in her extremity forget that she is a queen speaking to subjects: if Xerxes has won glory, well, let them admire and respect; if not, so he come home with the bare life he is still their king, and none can call him to account for a disaster.

213. The idea of a leader who was *εὖχ* *ἐπιτίθεσθαι*, was, of course, repugnant to Athenian ideas. Cp. I. 5.

214. This line is appended to the preceding one, *δὲ* marking that it is in opposition to the idea suggested of Xerxes possibly being called to account. “No, so he escape with the life, he is equally (as in any other event) king of this land.”

ἐπέειπες—as in *Cho.* 320, *Eum.* 358.

215—225. The Chorus assure Atossa of their good intention. They advise her first to pray to the gods in general terms that the evil portended be averted, and the good confirmed; secondly, she is to send offerings and implore the aid of her dead husband to the same effect. Their general conclusion is that all will go well.

As readers of dreams the Chorus are meant to be well-affected but incompetent. And in this sense Atossa receives their words. Cp. *Soph. O. T.* 69, when in answer to Creon's report of the oracle's platitude Oedipus says:

ἴστω δὲ πῶς αὖτε τοῦτος; οὐ γὰρ θρασύς
οὐδ' οὐκ ἀποδείξας εἶπὲν τῷ γέροντι λόγῳ.

Aeschylus and Sophocles speak with little patience of seers and prophets. Cp. *Agam.* 217, &c. 1133. *Soph. Ant.* 1085, &c. Atossa's narrative over, the old-fashioned metre is resumed.

215. *μᾶτρῳ*—Cp. II. 662, 671 where Darius is hailed as “father”.

217. *εἴ τι φλαῦρον εἶδες*—i.e. “whatsoever bad thou sawest”. By a common Greek euphemism the Chorus avoid allowing that she has seen anything evil.

τελευτῶν—(sc. *τοῦ θεοῦ*). So M. Other MSS. have *λαβῶν* (sc. *σε*) and so Hermann.

218. *ἀγαθὸ δ' ἐκτελέῃ γενέσθαι*—M. has *καὶ ἀγαθὸ δ' ἐκτελέῃ*, and most MSS. have the *δ'* after *ἀγαθὸ*. It is hard to see how this can have crept in by error, whereas *καὶ δ'* may easily have done so, being added by some one who felt that the article would make the antithesis clearer. Most editions have *καὶ δ' ἀγαθὸ ἐκτελέῃ*. The absence of the article seems to add to the vagueness of the prayer suggested to Atossa by her well-meaning advisers.

219. To Earth and the dead, because of the appearance in the dream of dead Darius. See on I. 619, and cp. *Choeph.* 42.

220. *πρηνεσῶς*—Ambiguously placed; it may be taken either with *αἰετῶν* or with *πείθεσθαι*; of the spirit in which Atossa is to pray, or of that in which Darius may be hoped to accept her prayer. A copyist who favoured the latter view has altered to *πρηνεσῶς*, which appears in some MSS. I. 665, where Darius says *χρεὶ δὲ πρηνεσῶς ἰδεσθῆναι*, might seem conclusive for the same view; but the adverb is really appropriate to either



action in the sense given above. Cp. l. 609. Here it is most simple, and most in accord with the general tenour of the old man's words, to take it with *αἰετός*.

For the offerings made in pursuance of this advice see ll. 598—632; the terms of the prayer to Earth and the dead will be found in the Choric Ode which follows those lines.

223. See above, ll. 217—8.

γῆρας κέρον—"kept down by earth", as opposed to the blessings which are allowed to ascend to the light.

224. *Θυμώμαρτις*—One who prophesies by the light of his reason, opposite to *θεύμαρτις*. So *θυμώσοφος* in Ar. *Clouds* 877. Compare also *ψυχώμαρτις* "a necromancer". See on l. 18 above.

πρῶτον—See above on l. 220.

225. The general summing up of the interpretation.

τελέω—intransitive as in *Theb.* 659, *Cho.* 1021.

226—248. Atossa hopes that this reading of the portents may only be as true as it is well-intentioned. She asks, apparently in ignorance, some questions as to Athens; where it is, what led her son to make it the aim of his expedition, who is its lord. Being answered that Athens knows no lord, she asks how such a nation can face enemies in the field. The Chorus remind her of Marathon. While she is shuddering at that memory, a messenger is seen approaching at speed, and soon enters.

226. *ἀλλὰ μήν*—"Well, at any rate." So in *Agam.* 1658. Cp. its use in l. 238 of this play.

γε—gives an emphasis, which is here almost scornful, to *εὖνοι*. "Of the goodwill, if that were enough, of the first reader of my dream, there can be no doubt."

227. *ναῖε καὶ δόμοις ἐμοῖσι*—Loyalty to her son and to the royal house, not patriotism, is what Atossa gives credit to the old men for feeling.

τίγ' ἀπέρωτος φάνη—"dost thou give this sure answer". Cp. l. 823, and observe how the construction of the phrase is varied there.

228. "Yes! may the good indeed be accomplished!" i.e. as you (see l. 225) pronounce that it will.

ὡς ἐφίλον—i.e. in ll. 216—223.

229. *θέσωμεν*—i.e. *προθέσωμεν*, we will lay before the gods (for their consideration). Cp. Isaiah xxxvii. 14, "And Hekiah spread it (the letter of Sennacherib) before the Lord".

τοῖς τ' ἑσπερὶ γῆς φάσας—To those called *ἑσπερὶ*; in l. 220, specially to Darius.

230. Observe the dignity of Atossa's address. "In good time I will act upon your advice: for the present I would ask you a certain question."

κεῖνα—i.e. the points on which she questions them in the next line.

231. A similar question is recorded by Herodotus (v. 106), where it is put into the mouth of Darius. Here it is asked in all good faith: to an Athenian audience it would sound a mere impertinence. In l. 478 Atossa's tone is changed. Cp. also ll. 236—6.

ποῦ γέρονός—"in what corner of the world". So *ποῦ γῆς*; in *Soph.* O. T. 106, and often.

232. *πρὸς ἑσπέραις*—"near the setting sun". This use of *πρὸς* with the dative is supported by *Prom.* 806, of *πρὸς ἡλίω καίοντι πύλαις*, so sometimes in Homer. The redundancy of the expression *ἑσπέραις ἡλίω φθινασμέντων* is not unsuited to the metre (see on l. 155), and to the emphasis intended to be given to the answer that the Athenians lived in the "far, far west". For similar redundancy cp. ll. 426, 543. The Scholiast remarks that the sun is called "king" as being worshipped by the Persians.

233. *ἀλλὰ μήν*—see on l. 226. Here each word keeps its natural force—"But do you really mean to say so, &c.?"

235. "Have they any army so numerous as that (ὅδε)?" i.e. so numerous as to make Athens the sole hope of Greek liberty.

236. *καὶ στρατὸς τοσούτος*—"Yes, so numerous as that". *τοσούτος* in the answer refers to *ὅδε* in the question. For *καὶ* in rejoinder cp. *Eum.* 576, also the phrases *καὶ κέρτα, καὶ μάλα, &c.* *ἔφασκε*—i.e. at Marathon.

237. In this and the preceding question (l. 235) Atossa has in mind her old difficulty (l. 165), "Have these Athenians men? But have they, besides men, money?" Cp. the question of Mardonius (Herod. vii. 9), "Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίῃσιν ἐπιμνησθέντα; τί δόσεις; κοίτην πλεῖστον σκετροφῆν; κοίτην δὲ χρημάτων δόναμον; καὶ introducing a question shows that some exception is taken to the words of the last speaker.

238. The silver mines of Laurium and Thoricus are meant. "There was at the time when Themistocles made his proposition to enlarge the naval force a great sum arising out of the Laurian mines, out of which a distribution was on the point of being made among the citizens ten drachms to each man" (Grote from Herod. vii. 144). In this sense the "competent wealth"



of the state might be said to belong to the homes (*δῶμοι*) of individual citizens, by whose abstinence it was made available for state needs, just as the wealth of France is found to lie in the thrifty habits of all her households.

239. Point by point the questioner has drawn out all the distinctive points of pride of her son's enemies; their men, their resources, and now their national weapon. As to the last see on l. 147.

τοξουλκός αἰχμή—"The shaft which stretches the bow", i. e. an arrow. The word *αἰχμή*, meaning any pointed weapon, and thus applicable to either a spear or an arrow, throws stress upon the defining adjective, and prepares the way for the emphatic rejoinder of the next line. For the adjective cp. l. 55.

διὰ χερῶν—i. e. "in the two hands of each". The MSS. have *διὰ χερῶν*: Brunck introduced the plural, which can, however, hardly be accepted as certain. Cp. *Theb.* 435:

φλέγει δὲ λαμπρὰ διὰ χερῶν ὀπλισμένη.

But cp. also l. 513 of that play, *διὰ χερῶν βέλους φλέγων*. It seems probable that the Scholiast found *χερῶν* in the text.

240. The equipment of an Athenian *ὄπλιτης* is described.

241. *νομιάνωρ*—(see on l. 75) suggests an Homeric king.

κἀπίδωπόζα—the stinging word, which is proudly rejected in the next line. To a Persian it sounded only natural. Cp. l. 666.

243. This question, how free institutions were compatible with efficiency in war, was asked not only by Persians but by Spartan neighbours; an answer to it may be found in the speeches of Pericles (*Thuc.* Bk. II.). Here the answer, and to a Persian a sufficient one, is "They did abide a foe at Marathon".

245. *τοί* has a *gnomic* force, that is, it shows that the speaker quotes, or has in mind, some familiar *γνώμη* or saying. "A heavy thought (that of Marathon), as they say, for parents whose sons go to the wars." A variety of such a *γνώμη* perhaps underlies Diomedes' boast (*Il.* vi. 127),

δυστήνων δὲ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μῦθῳ ἀντιώσωιν.

Hence the present *ὄντων* and the absence of the article. For the *gnomic τοί* cp. ll. 506, 706, 827.

246. *ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν*—more fully *ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν*. Cp. *ὡς εἰπέιν* *ἔπος* in l. 714.

τάχ' εἶσα—For this formula used before the arrival of a messenger cp. *Agam.* 489, *Soph. O. T.* 84.

247. *δράμημα*—The messenger is known to the Athenians who saw the play for a Persian by his dress and gait, perhaps also by his speed, since the Persians paid much attention to

their service of couriers. It is naively assumed that the Persian old men might recognise him by the same signs.

μαθεῖν and *κλέειν* are *exegetical* infinitives, *μαθεῖν* following and explaining the verb *πρέπει* (i. e. *πρέπει ὥστε μαθεῖν τῶν*), *κλέειν* the adjectives *εὐθλόν* ἢ *κακόν*. So *φροντίσαι* in l. 245 after *δεῦρ*.

249—289. The messenger, after a first passionate outburst, proceeds more calmly to acquaint the old men with the disaster of Salamis, out of which he has himself escaped with life. The Chorus utter short lyrical wails as the terrible details come out: their anguish culminates when Athens is named, Athens to which so many Persian women already owed their widowhood. Atossa remains silent.

Compare the opening of the herald's speech in *Agam.* 503, &c. There, as here, the Chorus alone interrogate the messenger at first: but here the queen is on the stage during the whole conversation, in which she presently takes part.

249. *Ἀσίαδος*—So the MSS. For the form cp. ll. 270, 549.

250. *καὶ πολὺς πλούτου λιμὴν*—i. e. the city of Susa, where the treasure-house of the kingdom was. Cp. l. 3. The metaphor is copied by Euripides (*Orestes*, 1077).

251. The absence of caesura is not unfrequent in the speeches of this messenger, and indeed is characteristic of the earlier plays of Aeschylus. Sometimes, as in this line, and in l. 465, the rugged effect thus produced seems well to suit the sense.

μὴ πληγῆ...πολὺς ἄλβος—The fears of Atossa (ll. 163—4) are literally realised.

253. "'Tis bad to be the first to bear ill-news". This is a common formula in the mouth of bearers of bad news. Thus in the line quoted by Demosthenes (*De Cor.*, p. 331),

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἔστι μὴ θέλοντά με.

The reason is given in *Soph. Ant.* 277:

στέργει γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγγελῶν κακῶν ἐπῶν,

a line which has been introduced into the text here in some MSS.

254. *ἀναπτύξαι*—Cp. l. 294.

255. *Πέρσαι*—Cp. l. 140.

βαρβάρων—See on l. 187.

256. *ἄνια*—i. e. *ἀνηρά*. Cp. ll. 1055, 1061.

νεόκοτα—i. e. *νέα*, the termination making the form more emphatic. See on l. 10.



257. The half-chorus bid their fellows weep for the disaster. The other half-chorus answer in the antistrophe (l. 262), and so on throughout the scene.

βαίρωτε—cp. ll. 1047 and 1065.

260. "Yes (you well may weep) since, &c."

διασπαραγμένα—cp. l. 517.

261. νέστιμον φέω—Based upon νέστιμον ἡμαρ, a phrase often recurring in the *Odyssey*. So νεστιμον σωτηρίας, l. 797 (also in *Agam.* 848 and 1238). Observe that the messenger is himself a survivor of Salamis, not the last of a series of relays posted as described by Herodotus (viii. 98). For dramatic purposes this is clearly more effective.

δάωτας—Cp. the words of the herald in the *Agam.* (ll. 506 and 671). The pathetic line so often recurring in the *Odyssey*,

ἔλαρα ἐκ θαλάσσης, φέλουσι δάωτας ἑταίρους,

well illustrates the feeling in each passage.

264. "Too long, methinks, too long doth life now appear to have been drawn out for us elders, that we hear of a woe so unexpected!"

Ἔε γε—i. e. this which has been prolonged till to-day.

δοῦσας—The infinitive is *epexegetical* of the preceding clause; that is, it *explains* how it is that the speaker's life has been too long drawn out. The principle is the same as when an infinitive is attached to single words, as in ll. 247—8 above. This construction is illustrated by *Agam.* 848 and 604.

266. καὶ μὴ—"And yet", in rejoinder; i. e. great and unexpected as is the news, it is yet true. γε (which is probably correct, though the MSS. have τε) emphasizes the word *καρῶν*, in which lies the point of the rejoinder. Cf. *Prom.* 982 and 985. For other uses of καὶ μὴ cp. ll. 406 and 998 of this play.

269. The vast, motley, and variously armed host, of whom we heard in the opening ode. Cp. l. 58.

270. Ἀσίδες—so M. Other MSS. give Ἀσιάδες. Cp. l. 249.

271. Σάω—emphatic. The city was protected by heaven. Therefore the expedition was in vain (μάραν). Cp. l. 347.

272—8. Cp. ll. 419—421.

272. Σωπύτρες—because they lay or floated unburied. See on l. 235.

275. δάβωτα—"tossing in the brine".

κολοβαφῆ—"often dipped". The Scholiast, however, in-

terprets by "much bathed in blood". It will be seen that this line does not correspond with the strophe; hence a conjecture, which is adopted by Dindorf, *κολοβῶτα σάμαθ' ἀλιβαφῆ*.

276. καθανόντα—i. e. νεκρά.

277. "Wrapped in their long cloaks which wander up and down on the sea". ἀπλάξ is properly an adjective meaning "double"; it is used by Homer (*Il.* iii. 126 and *Od.* xix. 241) as a substantive, i. e. ἀπλάξ χλαίρη, a cloak, either of double folds, or of double texture. This explanation is approved by Hermann, and is perhaps the best, though the descriptive touch would come more naturally from the eye-witness than from the Chorus. However it is really addressed to Athenians, many of whom had seen the sight described, the men from the ships where they were serving, the women and non-combatants from the cliffs of Salamis, whither they had been transported for safety. The Scholiast offers two explanations: (1) of the two shores, of Salamis and the mainland, between which the waves wander, and (2) of the double flow of the waves to and fro between Salamis and the mainland.

278. τρέφα—See on l. 147.

279. See the account of the battle below, l. 409, &c.

280—284. The reading here given of these lines, as well as of the antistrophe ll. 286—9, is that of M. The want of metrical correspondence is at once apparent. We have not the materials for restoring what Aeschylus wrote. Teuffel gives;

ἔνι' ἀποτμον δαίσις
δυσκαιρῆ βῶν,
ὡς Πέρσαις πάντα παγκάκως
θεοὶ θέσαν αἰαὶ στρατοῦ φθαρέντος,

and for l. 289,

εὐρίδας ἐκρίσσαν ἦδ' ἀνδρόπων.

The first two lines of the strophe had been so given by Hermann; who also introduced (from a gloss in one MS.) θεοὶ as the subject to θέσαν, but who rejected Πέρσαις as being a gloss on δαίσις. The reading of l. 289 is from Boeckh and Heinsioth. Metrical correspondence is thus secured without any violent alteration. Perhaps, however, it is better, following the MSS., to make the Persians the subject to θέσαν, translating: "Raise sad and mourning wail for the unhappy Persians; how ill did they manage all, ah me! how was their host destroyed!"

282. ἔδωες—Of the two meanings which this adjective may bear, viz. (1) "hostile", its Homeric sense, (2) "miserable", the latter only is in point here, if the reading is correct, and must also be assigned to the word in l. 280.

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284. πλείστον ἔχθους—i. e. ἐχθιστον.

286. "Yes, Athens is a name of hate to our unhappy race. Full well may one remember how many of our Persian women she made mourners and husbandless", i. e. at Marathon.

288. μέτραν—does not go with the verb in the sense that the former expedition was a fruitless one, but is attached to the adjective ("poor bereaved mourners"), being used much like the Homeric *αἴρας*. Cp. Soph. *Αἴ.* 634, ἡ νεσὶν μέτραν.

290—330. Atossa now bids the man be calm and tell all his news, who is dead, who survives. His first words reassure her as to the safety of Xerxes, and shortly and with dignity she expresses her joy. He proceeds with his roll of dead captains, some of whose names we remember as proudly rehearsed in the first Ode (see on l. 1), and adds that this is but an instalment of his ill tidings.

290. Atossa has hitherto kept silence because Aeschylus did not wish to exhibit her as joining in any undignified display of grief, which would have been the more conspicuous from her elevation in the car or litter (see on l. 155). Nevertheless a sort of apology for silence is here put into her own mouth. Cp. *Prom.* 486. For the present tense of *εἰπέ* see on l. 177.

291. "For this calamity is passing great, so that I might neither speak nor ask of our woes". *λέξαι* governs the accusative *πύθη, μήτ' ἐρωτήσαι* being inserted as (in point of grammar) a parenthesis. Cp. *Prom.* 881. Others make *εἰ* the subject to *λέξαι, ἐπεὶ* to *ἐρωτήσαι*. But Atossa is excusing her own silence, and is not concerned to account for the messenger's want of self-control.

293. "Yet necessity is laid on mortals to bear woes when the gods send them".

βραβεύε—is placed before *φάρον* to give it greater prominence: "to those who are mortals".

294. "Unfold the whole mishap, speak, compose thee!" The aorist participle *ἀναπτέξας* here refers to the same time as the verb *λέξεν*. Cp. l. 700.

295. *ἐμοῦ*—is not unfrequently thus placed, the clause which contains the condition intervening between it and the verb. Cp. l. 840, also *Cho.* 115:

μήμην' Ὀρέστρον, καὶ θυραῖς ἐσθ' ἐμοῦ.

296. "Who is not dead?" i. e. is any living? Atossa hopes to hear Xerxes' name in reply, though she dare not ask directly for him.

καὶ—emphasizes the verb of the question: "Whom shall we mourn (since mourn we surely must)?" Cp. *Agam.* 278:

πότεν χρεῖον δὲ καὶ νευρόθηται πόλις;

"When was the city sacked (since sacked it surely has been)?"

297. *ἀρχαίετον*—"leaders of the people" (*ἄρχαι*). So the Scholiasts. Others would derive it from *λαία*. Cp. the word *ἐγχελαία*.

ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίῳ ταχθεῖα—"Set in the post of high command". *σκηπτουχοί* was the title of certain officers of the Persian court; but that Aeschylus uses the word in the more general sense in which it is found in Homer appears from the list of chiefs from different countries and holding high commands which the messenger gives in reply.

298. *ἀναδρον*—is used *proleptically*: in full, *τίς ἤρῃμεν τῆν τάξιν ὅστις ἀναδρον εἶμαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν;*

299. So the herald (*Agam.* 677) reports Menelaus, *καὶ γόοντα καὶ βλάπτοντα.*

Cp. *Il.* l. 88,

ἐπεὶ γύροντες καὶ ἐπὶ χερσὶ δερκομένοιο.

300. *εἶπας φάος*—"Thy word is light to my house". *φάος* is a secondary accusative of result after *εἶπας* (i. e. *εἶπας εἶπες*). So *Agam.* 22:

ἡμερήσιον φάος τιφάσκων καὶ χερῶν κενότασιν,

where however *καὶ* is inserted.

φάος—suggested by the last line, is used in the epis sense of the joy of victory or deliverance.

301. For *ἐκ*, "after", cp. *Ag.* 900, *ἀλλίστων ἡμῶν εἰσιδαὶν ἐκ χεῖματος.*

μελαγχίμεν—see on l. 114. Cp. *Cho.* 11.

302. *δὲ*—answers to *μὲν* in the messenger's last speech (l. 299), to which the *μὲν* in Atossa's speech is assimilated, as she takes up his words.

Ἄρτα-βάρης—Cp. l. 29, where however the penultimate is long. (See on l. 21.)

ἵππων—"horse," i. e. cavalry. So often in prose. Cp. l. 815.

βραβεύε—"leader", cp. *φάλαγγος βραβεύε, Agam.* 230.

303. *στειφλέτε*—Cp. l. 78.

Σαλαμῖν—Gen. of *Σαλαμίαι*, a part of the shore of Salamis.

305. *πύθημα κούφον*] Cognate acc. after *ἀφάρτε*. The

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rough humour underlying the narrative throughout this speech should be noticed. Here it was perhaps suggested by *Il.* xvi. 745, where Patroclus, jibing at the death-bound of Cebriones, says,

ὦ πότρε ἢ μάλ' Ἐλαφροὶ ἄνηρ, ὡς βεῖα κυβιστᾷ.

306. Some editions have *ἀριστοὶ*, after Blomfield. The sense is the same, but *ἀριστοὶ* is the simpler and more epic word.

Ἰθαγενῆς—"a true-born Bactrian", whereas many of the Persian contingents were led by foreign generals; as the Lydians by Arcteus (l. 44) an Egyptian (l. 811); the men of Egyptian Thebes by Ariomardus (l. 88) a man of Sardis (l. 321). Herodotus (vii. 96) tells us that in many cases native commanders were superseded, whether naval or military.

307. Cp. *Hom. Il.* ii. 557:

Ἄλας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμίος ἔγεν' ἑκατάδεκα νῆας

(i.e. ἡ Τελαμώνιος), also *Soph. Aj.* 184, 596.

πῶλες—"haunts". Used in the middle in *Prom.* 645. A touch of the same humour as above, l. 805.

308. Ἀριστῆς—Cp. l. 87.

309. τὴν πολυθρέμωνα—(cp. *πολυθρέμωνα* in l. 83). The Scholiast understands Salamis, but Salamis had just been described (l. 307). Hermann, arguing from Eustathius that Salamis was more likely to breed ducks than doves, thinks that a small island near it is meant. Salamis in Cyprus was sacred to Aphrodite, and her doves might be poetically transferred to the Greek island. See on l. 87.

310. κέρισσον—In the course of the messenger's narrative there are frequent instances of the omission of the augment (*Il.* 813, 876, 416, 458, 490, 506). Most of these occur at the beginning of a line, one (l. 490) at the end after a word ending in a diphthong, one (l. 813) at the end after a consonant. Linwood (s.v. *κυκλοῦσθαι*) gives a full account of the facts, and of the dispute among scholars as to their explanation. His conclusion is that "the Tragic, though in ordinary passages *always* inserting the augment, did occasionally omit it when imitating the epic narrative style, and this not in the beginning only, but also in the middle of a verse". This forcible verb is not met with elsewhere in a metaphorical sense.

312. Ἀρκτεὺς—Cp. l. 44, and see on l. 806.

313. M. has of *τε*. The want of augment in *πέσον* has offended many critics, see above on l. 810, but no probable correction is offered.

νῶδες ἐκ μιᾶς—Possibly "At the onset of one (Greek) ship". So Teuffel. Cp. *Theb.* 805, *τεθῶσαι ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτοκτόνων*. But cp. l. 963, which rather supports the old translation here: "were lost out of one ship".

314. Χρυσεύς—from Chrysa in the Troad. Cp. *Il.* i. 37. *μυριόναρχος*—Formed on the (misapplied) analogy of *εκατόναρχος*. Cp. l. 994.

315. μελαίνης—"Swarthy" or "black-armed", epithet of the riders rather than of the horses.

316. πυρρᾶν—(Porson and others alter to *πυρρήν*). This is best taken as a predicate (cp. l. 298), giving another grim jest. "Chryses was dyeing his swarthy beard till it became a red one".

πορφυρέα βαφή—i.e. with blood, but with a thought of the purple dye ever being distilled beneath the sea (see *Agam.* 958), and of the "sea change" being worked on the body as it floated. For the synizesis see on l. 95.

With *δάσκιον γενειάδα* cp. *Soph. Trach.* 13.

χρῶτα—either "the complexion" or better "the colour" (*χρόμα*). Cp. *Il.* v. 354.

Others make the original colour of the hair *πυρρᾶν*, i.e. yellow, which is dyed red by the blood. But the word *μελαίνης* suits the other picture better.

318. Μάγος—a member of the Magian family mentioned by Herodotus (i. 101). Perhaps Aeschylus designedly lengthens the first syllable to distinguish from the priestly caste. Cp. *Soph. O. T.* 387.

319. σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς—proleptic: "becoming (by death) a settler in a stony land". This again is grimly said. Cp. *Cho.* 671, *μέτοικος, ἐς τὸ πᾶν δέξινον, θάπτειν* (to bury him in a foreign land instead of bringing him home to his own). Cp. also *Soph. O. C.* 934, and *Soph. Aj.* 516.

320. Ἀμηστρίς—Cp. l. 21.

321. Ἀριστάρδος—Cp. l. 88, and see note on l. 806. It will be observed that this line offends against the rule of the "Final Cretic". Perhaps this may be excused in the case of a proper name, especially of a foreign one.

322. Σασάμης—Cp. l. 894. Herodotus (vii. 66) mentions a Sisamnes.

324. τρυγός—Cp. l. 23.

Λυρνατός—of Lyrna, i.e. Lyrnessus, a town of the Troad.

325. εἰτρυγός—answers to *εἰαδῆς* in the last line. "For all his beauty of form the place where he lies is none so good".

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Cp. *Agam.* 452. The phrase εὐ μὲν εὐτυχῆς has further, as shown by Mr Paley, a special application to one who failed to receive burial. Thus in *Soph. Ajax* 1126,

ἄκου γὰρ τίος' εὐτυχῶν;

(i.e. that Ajax should receive burial), also *O. C.* 402, and *l.* 1018. See also on *l.* 272 above.

326. "The name Syennesis is common to all the kings of Cilicia mentioned in history. It has been supposed not to be really a name, but, like Pharaoh, a title", Rawlinson on *Herod.* *l.* 74. In *vn.* 98 Syennesis, the son of Oromedon, the Cilician, is mentioned as one of the most distinguished of those in second-rate command.

327. *M.* has *ετραχος* here and in *Cho.* 665, and its representatives read *ετραχος* in *Agam.* 1227. Most editors since *Center* have preferred the form *ετραχος*, familiar in prose. *Hermann* thinks *ετραχος*, the word used by *Herodotus* (*v.* 20) and others for a Persian Satrap, to be the true reading here.

εἰς ἀνὴρ πλεῖστον πόνον κ.τ.λ.—The force of the expression comes partly from the familiar use of εἰς with superlatives to intensify them, as εἰς ἀριστες, "the very best"; partly from the opposition between the one agent and the great trouble which he gave his enemies. Cp. *Agam.* 1455:

Ἐλάνη
μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πόνον πολλὰς
ψυχὰς δάσασ' ἐνὲ Τροίᾳ.

329—330. These two lines are printed in the text as given in *M.*: *l.* 329 has been placed in brackets, being probably, as explained below, spurious; *l.* 330 will then sum up and conclude the speech. We often find a single line or half line so placed. Cp. *Agam.* 680:

τρεῖσθ' ἀκούσας ἰσθὶ τάληθ' κλέω,

σε *Agam.* 1046:

ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν οἰά περ νομίζεσαι.

Various attempts have been made to fill out the first line. Thus *Hermann* has

τοιούτῃ γ' ἀρχῶν εἴν' ἐνεμνήσθην τίμῃ,
πολλῶν παρόντων δ' ὀλίγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακῇ.

εἴν' appears in all MSS. except *M.* and has been added there above the line by a later hand. δ' appears to be read by the other MSS. τοιούτῃ γ' ἀρχῶν is a conjecture (for τοιούτ' ἀρχόντων), as is *Dindorf's* τοιούτῃ τῶνδε.

Apart from considerations of the ill sound of *Hermann's* line and the poverty of *Dindorf's*, and the fact that neither accounts for the reading of the MSS., the extreme feebleness

of the couplet, as concluding a speech, is evident; "Such are the generals about whom I now remember, but out of many evils I only report a few". Hence Mr Paley would reject both lines.

It would seem however that the first of the two lines might easily have grown out of glosses on the latter, which by itself may, as we saw above, stand very well. An annotator, thinking that πολλῶν παρόντων meant "many generals (such as those above named) being present", wrote above the line the words τοιούτ' ἀρχόντων. Then seeing that the verb ἀπαγγέλλω could not be taken with the genitive so understood, he added περὶ above as one explanation (i.e. ἀπαγγέλλω περὶ τῶν παρόντων), and also wrote the word ἐνεμνήσθην which he knew to govern a genitive, as a second explanation. Transcribers of other MSS., who possessed some acquaintance with the iambic metre, introduced εἴν', in hope of making up an iambic line, and then wrote δ' in the next line to complete the sense. See *Enger's* introduction to *Klansen's Agamemnon* for some remarks on this source of corruption.

331—332. Burning with shame, Atossa asks the numbers of the enemy which had dared to engage, and learns that the Persians were as four to one. "Then", she cries, "we have some malignant god to thank". "The gods", says the messenger, "do indeed preserve Athens, the city of Pallas". "Athens!" she exclaims, "is Athens yet un sacked?" "Sacked it may be", is the answer, "yet do the gods preserve her, so long as her men, her most secure fortress, are spared to her". Atossa then asks as to the battle, and specially which side began it.

332. αἰσχρ...κακῆματα—For these accusatives see on *l.* 300.

333. ἀναστρέψας πάλιν—"Coming back to your story". Observe the firmness with which Atossa, checking her own passionate grief, keeps the narrator to his facts. Cp. *ll.* 296, 350, 478.

334. πῶσον δὲ πλεῖθος—δὲ is sometimes used, redundantly, where some interrogative formula, such as that of the last line, has preceded. Thus in *Xenophon Mem.* *S.* 2. 9 "εἰπέ μοι", εἶπε, "ὁ Κρίτων, κίνας δὲ γράφεις;" *Hermann* compares the usage by which γὰρ redundantly follows such a formula as σμαίω δὲ. δὲ is often used in questions implying remonstrance or exclamation. Thus *Hom. Il.* *l.* 541,

τίς δ' εἰσὶν τοι, Δολομήτη, θεῶν συμφρέσσεντο βουλῆς;

ε force which it perhaps retains here.

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837. πλῆθος...ἐκείν—“So far as numbers go”. *ἐνεκα* is often thus used by prose writers; thus *ἐνεκὸν γε χρημάτων ἔρξαι ἀπέως τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Herod. III. 122; of which usage the construction in the text is a poetical variety.

βάρβαρον—So Herm. for the MS. βαρβάρων.

ἐν κρητήσιν—follows *ἰσθ.* (though a participle would be more regular). “Know that the barbarian would have conquered so far as numbers went (i. e. if victory went by numbers)”. For βάρβαρον cp. l. 187.

838. καὶ γὰρ Ἕλλησιν κ.τ.λ.—The statement of our author seems quite clear: the Greeks had about 300 ships, exclusive of ten picked ones; Xerxes had 1000 ordinary, and 207 picked ships. Here the Persian speaker claims to know accurately the Persian numbers (καὶ γὰρ εἶδα) but to speak approximately of those of the Greeks. This is dramatically right, and is in conformity with the plan pursued by Aeschylus throughout the play; thus he names no Greek leaders or contingents, but gives those of the Persians with much detail. The words καὶ γὰρ εἶδα are further taken, by Plutarch and others, to imply that Aeschylus had special sources of information as to the statement about the numbers of the Persians. The facts about the Greeks were notorious to all who heard the play, and it was no suppression of the truth to make the foreign eye-witness estimate them at “about three hundred”, instead of saying “three hundred odd”.

We need not therefore be surprised to find Aeschylus at one with Herodotus as to the Persian numbers, but not supported by him as to those of the Greeks. The historian (VII. 89) gives 1207 as the number of Persian ships present at the muster of Doriscus, and (VIII. 66) expresses his own opinion that the number which engaged at Salamis was not a smaller one. He sums up the Greek numbers (VIII. 48) at 378, and (VIII. 83) tells us that the number which fought was 380, two having since been added. In the former of these passages, perhaps from corruptions of the text, the items of the force, when added up, give a total of 366, not 378.

Plato and the orators refer to the Persian fleet as consisting of various numbers, from 1000 to 1300. With regard to the Greeks, we have their number set down by an Athenian orator (Thuc. I. 74) at nearly 400, whereas Demosthenes (*De Cor.*, p. 306) makes it only 300. The object was a patriotic exaggeration of the Athenian contingent, in the one case as to its absolute numbers, in the other as to its proportion to the whole. See Arnold's note on the former passage.

842. ἐπίκομος—So the MSS. here and in II. 827, 831. The word *ἐπίκομος* is also found in Aeschylus, see *Theb.* 455;

Cho. 136, but appears to be a distinct word, though some scholars would introduce it everywhere in place of *ὑπέροκμος*.

843. εἶς ἔχει λόγος—“So the story goes”. In *Cho.* 521, *Theb.* 225, the same phrase is used after a well-established saying has been quoted. Cp. *Agam.* 1661. Perhaps a distinction is intended between the messenger's information as to the 1000 ships (καὶ γὰρ εἶδα, l. 341), and as to the 207 cruisers.

844. “What think you: do we come off second-best in this strife (i. e. in the comparison of numbers, πλῆθους ἕκαστι)?” With the form of the question cp. *Prom.* 959; and with the rhetorical use of *τῆδε* cp. *Agam.* 942:

ἢ καὶ σὺ νίκησιν τῆδε δήριος τίεις;

(this victory, i. e. the act of giving-in).

845—6. M. makes these two lines form the conclusion of the messenger's speech. Hermann saw that they belonged to Atossa, being her indignant answer to the question of l. 344. He also completed the arrangement of the lines which follow, Schütz having already seen that l. 348 is a question asked by Atossa. For the connection of the dialogue see above on l. 331. In this part of the play a change of speaker is only marked by a horizontal line in the MS. Thus the arrangement given in the text (Hermann's) agrees with the MS. except as to speaker of ll. 345—6; and the only error assumed to exist in the MS. is the absence of such a mark here.

846. εἰ καὶ κ.τ.λ.—“Well then, if this be so, &c.” More fully, *ὡς ὅδ' ἐχόντων τῶνδε. οὕτως* would be more natural in prose. Cp. *Prom.* 513.

845. For the notion of a malicious deity cp. l. 93.

846. The image is Homeric: cp. Hom. *Il.* VIII. 69, καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἔτίθειε τάλαντα, ἐν δ' ἔτιθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο, Τρώων θ' ἰπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, ἔλακε δὲ μέσσα λαβῶν ῥέπει δ' αἰσιμον ἦμαρ Ἀχαιῶν. Also in Theognis 157 ν, τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιφρέπει (Ζεὺς) ἄλλοτε ἄλλως. Cp. *Agam.* 437, καὶ τάλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορός (Ἄρης). Also *Supp.* 822.

847. The messenger takes up the word *δαίμων*, and suggests that heaven is indeed interfering, not to damage the Persians, but to preserve Pallas' own city, also called (*Soph. O. C.* 260) *θεοσεβειάδας*.

848. Though Atossa had (l. 231) shewn ignorance where Athens was, she now recognises it as “the city of Pallas”. She had been informed (l. 234) that it was the chief object of her son's expedition. Hence her angry question. For *ἄρα* put rhetorically in the middle of a sentence cp. l. 640.

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Athens had been sacked and burnt by Xerxes' troops (viii. 41). The idiom of the Greek language enables us to avoid the direct admission, and to give a patriotic answer. There is a thought of the words of the Herod. vii. 140) *τείχος Τριπογωνα ἔβλεω δίδωι εὐρύτητα τῶν ἀπὸ πύργων τελλέθω.*

of such sentiments as that of Alcaeus (Fr. 22):

ἄνδρες πόλιος πύργος ἀρεδῖαι.

Soph. O. T. 56, and Thuc. vii. 77.

ἔν is emphatic. Cp. l. 166.

Atossa comes back to the question (see on l. 334).

The disturbed order of the words (for *τίνας κατήρτασθε; τίς τέρπος ἢ Ἕλληνας;*) marks the emotion of the queen and her eagerness to know all.

See on l. 251.

-378. "The mischief began with some spiteful deity, who looked on this wise. A Greek came to Xerxes, saying on night should fall the Greeks would endeavour to go in all directions, and advising him to watch the outlets of the straits. Accordingly he summoned his captains, and them to divide the mass of his fleet into three lines, to cruise about the strait, watching the outlets, a detachment sailed round the island (to make still more the outer or Megaric issue from the Bay of Eleusis). Xerxes, calmly and with a light heart he gave his orders, warning in vain of a pain of losing their heads, not to let the Greeks bear doom".

Compare Herod. viii. 75, where the device of Themistocles is fully described. The messenger was Sicinnus, one of Xerxes' oacles' household, and the tutor of his sons. The king was to force an action in the straits, before the Greeks could disperse, as they were on the point of doing, each to his own country, and while the great advantage of fighting in the straits could be secured. It is strange to read in Thucydides (i. 187) that Themistocles lived to take credit with Xerxes for sending this message.

It is assumed that the arrangement of the Persian line of battle by Colonel Leake and others from Herodotus is generally correct (see Rawlinson on Herod. viii. 76 & 96). It is supposed to have extended within the strait of Salamis, and to have been on the shore of Attica from the entrance of the Piræus to the promontory of Mount Aegaleos, on which Xerxes'

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throne was placed. According to Colonel Leake it reached this position by two movements, one on the evening of the 19th Sept. which brought its right off some part of the island of Salamis (Herod. viii. 70); and one during the night which brought its whole line more westward. Mr Grote thinks it unlikely that they would have ventured by day into the neighbourhood of Salamis, an island occupied by the enemy, and supposes a single night movement to have been made which brought them into position. There is a difficulty as to two places, Ceos and Cynosura, mentioned by Herodotus. Colonel Leake takes them to have been places in Salamis on which the Persian right rested after the first movement. Mr Grote places them on the coast of Attica where the left rested before the one night movement.

This difference of opinion however is comparatively immaterial to the narrative of Aeschylus. In either case the main body were ordered to form three lines and to cruise about the straits, watching the outlets, while another force (according to Diodorus xi. 17, consisting of Egyptians) sailed round the island, to watch the outlet between Salamis and the Megarid.

Dean Blakesley in his note on Herod. viii. 76 takes a completely different view of the action, which he understands to have begun as the Phoenicians were entering the narrow strait for the purpose of blockading it.

354. *ἀλάστρα*—In *Supp.* 415, *Agam.* 1501 and 1506, the word is used, as here, for "an avenger", equivalent to *δολίχης* in the bad sense (see on l. 158). But in *Ewm.* 286 it is used for "the sinner", and so in passages of Sophocles and Demosthenes. It is usually connected with *ἀλάστρα* (adj. *ἀλάστρατος*); meaning either "the power which never forgets" or "the man who does things too bad to be forgotten".

ἄλλοθεν—He means *ἐκ θεῶν*.

355. See Herod. viii. 75 and note on l. 353 above. Pliarch says that Sicinnus was a *Perstian* by birth.

357. A variation of the Homeric phrase, *ἐπὶ κρήναις φέθω*.

ἔτερος—*ἄλλοθεν*—The latter tense is grammatically right in "oratio obliqua", the former preserves the tense of the "oratio recta".

359. "Leaping on to the rowing benches", cp. the Homeric *ἀναβῆσαν ἐφ' ἡμῶν*, i.e. "sitting orderly on the benches". The expression in the text implies hurry, almost mutiny. For *ἐπιπυρόμενοι* *ἄλλοθεν* *ἄλλοθεν* cp. the construction of l. 135.

360. The message which Sicinnus announced was *ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἕλλησι θρηνητὸν βουλευόμενοι καταρροδοῦντες* (Herod. viii. 75).

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362. εἶσι τὸν θεὸν φέρον—see on l. 94, and cp. l. 378.

364. As the poet approaches the catastrophe, his language, even in the mouth of a messenger, becomes highly coloured and intense. Cp. l. 357, l. 386, &c. So in *Choeph.* 886, where the time of Orestes' vengeance is imminent. Cp. also the descriptions in the *Seven against Thebes*, when the enemy is before the gates. The tense of εἶν' ἐν λήξει is borrowed from the "oratio recta".

365. The air is regarded as the *τέμενος*, or sacred enclosure of the sun. Cp. Ennius' "caeli caerulea templa"; Lucretius' "caeli templa", &c. Also *πέντιον εἶσος* in l. 111.

366. εὐτόχος μὲν—The main body, opp. to those mentioned in l. 368. For the word cp. l. 20.

367. φηλόσσαν—The infinitive explains the purpose of the disposition (τάξις).

368. ἄλλας δὲ—These, Diodorus tells us, were Egyptians; Plutarch gives the number at 200. Their instructions were to sail round the island of Salamis, and blockade the western, or Megaris, outlet of the Bay of Eleusis, and cut off the retreat of any Greeks who might have eluded the main body on the western extremity of the Strait, and so entered that Bay.

369. ἐς...εἰ φετοῖαθ'...ἦν προκεῖμενον—The verb of the dependent clause is made to conform to the main part of the orders to the generals, which have been set out in the "oratio obliqua".

371. πᾶσι—i.e. τοῖς ναυάρχαις. In Herod. viii. 90 Xerxes, in a fit of annoyance, orders the heads of certain Phoenicians to be cut off. This punishment was repulsive to the Greeks as a species of mutilation; and thus in *Eum.* 175 beheading, with other judicial tortures, is associated with the less favoured lands to which the Erinnyes are bidden to depart.

The phrase εὐτόχους κρατεῖς, by its very baldness, perhaps suggests the horror of the thing. Cp. *Prom.* 862.

372. ἐν εὐτόχου φρονέει—For the preposition cp. *Agam.* 587:

ἀπολλοῖα μὲν τάλαι χαρὲς ὕπο.

Xerxes (δ *θεός*, l. 78, &c.) gave his orders "with a very light heart" because he could not, as some of his counsellors could, read the future, and know nothing of the *ἔχθιστη ἰδέσθαι*, *πολλὰ φρονέοντα μάλιστα κρατεῖν*. See the story of Thersander (Herod. ii. 16), especially the words, put into the mouth of a Persian: *ἔσθαι, δ τι θέα γινώσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπέχων ἀποθνήσκοντες*.

374—385. "Accordingly supper was served, and each man

made himself ready; and night came on and they embarked, and all night cruised about as ordered; and night passed away, and nowhere were the Greeks seen to make any movement of escape."

374. Perhaps some contempt is implied for the discipline and submissive temper of the Persians.

375. εἰσινόν τ'—The particle is not given by the MSS. Observe the imperfects throughout, marking the gradual and orderly execution of the orders.

376. "The mode of forming a pivot for the oar on the gunwale of the Greek vessels, described in these words of Aeschylus, has been in use from the earliest times, and still remains in use. It is one of the operations of putting to sea, described by Homer:

ἤφρονοντο δ' ἔπειμα τροπῶσι ἐν θερματίνοισι.

Od. iv. 782.

In the Greek boats of the present day, a leathern thong (*τροπώριον*) embraces the middle of the oar (*κοῦρι*), together with a strong peg (*σκαλῆς*) fixed in the gunwale". Leake, *Topography of Athens*, vol. ii. p. 262.

In an appendix to Dr Arnold's *Thucydides* (on ii. 98) it is explained that this idea of the *τροπώριον* must be modified to suit the oars of the lower tiers in a trireme. For the absence of augment see on l. 310.

378. πᾶς ἀνὴρ κέρως ἀναξ—i.e. "every rower" (*ναυβάτης ἀνὴρ* of l. 375). For the expression *κέρως ἀναξ* cp. l. 383, also l. 95 above. As adopted by Euripides (*Cyclops* 86) it is censured by Aristotle *Rhet.* iii. 2, ἀφρονεῖ, ὅτι μίσην τὸ ἀπίσταν φασ' ἀξίαν. In the passage before us its use is justified by the high colouring of the whole narrative.

379. πᾶς θ' ἑλλων ἐπιστάτης—A poetical equivalent either for *ἑλλῆται* or for *ἐπιβάται*. According to Plutarch, there were 18 (an unusually large number) on each *Athenian* vessel, four being archers. In the Persian vessels the proportion of archers would doubtless be much larger.

380. τάξις...τάξις—The divisions of the fleet (see l. 366), *πᾶσι μακρῶς*—of the war-ships (opp. to *πῆες γαλαῖαι*), singular as in l. 302.

382. "And all the livelong night did the captains keep their whole force afloat". *θεῖαλλον* appears to be an adjective (i.e. *καταλέοντα*).

383. πᾶσι ἀνακτες—See on l. 378.

384. εὐ μάλ'—Ironical. "Not very much of the expected movement did the Persians see anywhere". Cp. l. 335, εὐ μάλ' ἐντοχῶς.



386—405. "Day began to dawn, and a joyous shout was heard from the Greeks, which the echoes of the cliffs of Salamis returned: we felt foiled and afraid. Then the trumpet pealed through their lines, the dash of oars in regular time was heard, and at once they were in sight. The right wing (the Lacedaemonian) led, the other parts of the line followed, and we could hear the very words of their war-cry 'Fight Greeks, for your all is at stake'!"

386. *ἐπεὶ γὰρ μίντοι κ.τ.λ.*—"But when at last &c." *μίντοι* is adversative: *γὰρ* gives precision to *ἐπεὶ*.

λευκόπυλος ἡμέρα—Cp. Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 246, *ἄμυρον καὶ φαέθονθ' οἱ τ' ἠὼ πῶλοι ἄγουσιν*, cp. Soph. *Ajax* 678. See on l. 464 for the highly coloured language here used.

388. For the raising of the Paean before a battle cp. *Theb.* 267, 635. It was followed (l. 395) by the trumpet call; cp. Xen. *Anab.* v. 2, *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἠλάλαξαν*.

389. *ἔρθιον*—i.e. with loud answering ἀλαλαγμός.

392. *γνώμης*—The plan detailed above, l. 364 &c.

φυγῆ—παιάν'—A Paean for flight was of course a contradiction in terms, see on l. 388. Cp. too the expression in *Agam.* 645: *παιάνα τόνδ' Ἐρμυίων*.

395. *πάντ' ἐκείν'*—i.e. all the Greek lines: cp. l. 260. With *ἐπέφλεγεν* cp. Virgil *Aen.* vi. 165,

Aere ciere viros, martemque accendere cantu.

396. *ξυμβολῆ*—"the dash of the even oars", cp. *Agam.* 984.

397. *ἄλμην βρέχιον*—"the brine deep down below", cp. *Prom.* 1091.

ἐκ κελεύματος—i.e. at the word of the *κελευστής*. For the use of *ἐκ* see on l. 313, and cp. l. 462.

399. The Greek right was first seen advancing by the speaker, the rest becoming visible in succession. Or Aeschylus may have wished to call attention to the fact that the Lacedaemonians were actually the first in the advance, as a set-off to the honour of beginning the battle, which belonged (l. 409) to an Athenian ship.

402. *πολλὴν βοήην*—the ἀλαλαγμός.

παῖδες Ἑλλήνων—grounded on the Homeric *πῆες Ἀχαιῶν*. Compare the modern Greek war song, translated by Lord Byron, which begins *δοῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων*.

405. *νῦν ἔπιρ πάντων ἀγών*—To the Athenian part, at least, of the force, these were no mere words. Behind them,

in the island of Salamis, were their women and children; before them lay Athens, her temples and tombs, now in the power of the invader. This was

"That song of ours which saved at Salamis:

'O sons of Greeks, go, set your country free,
Free your wives, free your children, free the fanes
O' the gods your fathers founded—sepulchres
They sleep in! or save all, or all be lost!'"

From Mr Browning's *Balaustion's Adventure*.

Mr Grote (note to Chapter xli.) remarks that "the war-shout described by Aeschylus, a warrior actually engaged, shews us the difference between a naval combat of that day and the improved tactics of the Athenians 50 years afterwards, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Phormion especially enjoins on his men the necessity of silence (Thuc. ii. 89)."

406—432. And now a shout rose from the many nations of our line, and the fight began. First, on the Greek left, an Athenian vessel put a Phoenician out of action, then every captain grappled with an enemy. For awhile the mere weight of the Persian force helped us to stand; but, being crowded in a confined space, and moving clumsily, our ships fouled one another, and became helpless. The Greek ships lost no chance of surrounding an enemy, and soon it was all havoc and butchery. Night put an end to such a tale of woes as I could not tell were I to speak without cease for ten days.

406. *καὶ μὲν*—"and now". The words are used to call attention to a new phase in the narrative. So *Prom.* 1080, *Agam.* 1178. *καὶ μὲν* in a dramatist often marks the entrance of a new person, in an orator a new stage of the argument.

ῥόθους—the mixed tongues of all the nations forming the Persian force, each sounding inarticulate to a Greek.

407. *μέλλειν ἀκμή*—forcible, because the terms "high time to delay" are almost inconsistent. In *Agam.* 1353, *τὸ μὴ μέλλειν ἀκμή*, "it is high time not to delay", there is no such inconsistency.

408. *χαλκίρη στόλον*—"her brazen equipment", i.e. the beak of the ship. Cp. *κωπήρη στόλον* in l. 416.

409. *ἐμβολῆς*—used by Thuc. (vii. 70) for the charge made on the side of another ship. Here it is a charge *pro* to *pro*.

Ἑλληνικῆ—i.e. an Athenian ship, since they faced the Phoenicians. Herodotus (vii. 84) tells us that this exploit was performed by one Ameinias of Pallene. Now Aeschylus had a brother named Ameinias, (another brother Cynegeirus had fought well at Marathon); and we would gladly believe,



as most historians have done, that this was the man. The only difficulty is that his deme should rather have been given Eleusis. As told by Herodotus the deed was far more brilliant: the whole Greek line was retreating when Ameinias sprang to the front and grappled with his enemy; the Greeks came to back him, and the fight became general.

411. κέρυμβα—the carved stern of a ship, so in *Il.* ix. 241. For the word cp. l. 659.

ξύον—"a ship" so in *Agam.* 1618. The word is often used in Homer for the timbers of a ship, and Pindar has ἐβόλιον ξύον for a ship. So "trabe Cypria" in Horace.

412. βέσμα—Cp. l. 87. The great mass of the Persian ships is intended. Dean Blakeley relies on this word as shewing that the Persians were, when attacked, entering the strait, and so in column.

413. ἐν στενῷ—It is about a mile from shore to shore at the part where the Athenians fought. It had been the great object of Themistocles that the fight should take place ἐν στενῷ. Cp. Thuc. i. 74: ἐν (ὁ Θεμιστοκλής) αἰετώτατος ἦν ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἐσσι τὰ πράγματα.

416. κείοντ—See on l. 810. The apodosis begins with ἔθρανον—κωπήρη στόλον, cp. l. 408.

417. οὐκ ἀφρασμένως—i.e. "not without the wit to take advantage of the enemy's flight", cp. *Agam.* 291. The Greek ships took every opportunity to surround and batter ships, or groups of ships, of the enemy.

419. "mare non amplius erat videndum". The infinitive as in *Il.* 247—8.

420. Herodotus adds that many of the Persians were drowned "because they could not swim"; also that the confusion was increased by those in rear pressing forward, knowing that the king's eyes were upon them. His account of the carnage at Artemisium much resembles that given by Aeschylus here. Compare also *Agam.* 658 (describing the effects of a storm):

ἔπει δ' ἀνήθε λαμπρὸν ἦλον φάος,
ἄρῳπερ ἀθεὸν πέλαιος Διγαίων νεκροῖς
ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς Ἴ δριαιτοῖς.

424. The epic form *vel* is rare in iambic metre. Cp. l. 504.

The tunny is the chief of the mackerel family; its usual length is about two feet, but it sometimes grows to eight or ten. "The fishermen take advantage (of their timidity) by placing a look-out or sentinel on some elevated spot, who makes the signal that the shoal of tunnies is approaching, and points out the direction in which it will come. Immediately

a great number of boats set off, range themselves in a curved line, and, joining their nets, form an enclosure which alarms the fish; while the fishermen, drawing closer and closer, and adding fresh nets, still continue driving the tunnies towards the shore, where they are ultimately killed with poles". From "*The Sea and its living wonders*" by Hartwig, where a specially murderous variety of the above process, called by the French "malragne", by the Italians "tonnaro", is described. I am told that the fish are killed by *stabbing* as well as by blows.

A traveller (Chandler), writing in the last century, describes a night-fishing scene in the straits of Salamis. The fish are attracted by torches into a net drawn from boat to boat, and are finally knocked on the head with wooden hammers, oars, &c., some kinds being until dead poisonous to the touch. Pliny however (*N. H.* ix. 2, 5) speaks of the tunny as being bold and obstinate, so that the ships of Alexander the Great had to charge through a shoal of them as though they were an enemy's squadron.

426. ἐπρόχαιον—Cp. Soph. *Ajax*, 56, 299. The simile is dropped.

428. νυκτὸς ὄμμα—i.e. "night", on the analogy of expressions which speak of the sun as the "eye of heaven". This is copied by Euripides *Iph. Taur.* 110, νυκτὸς ὄμμα λογαίας.

ἀφέλατο—"took it, i.e. the fighting, away". Cp. Thuc. iv. 184, ἀφελόμενης νυκτὸς τὸ ἔργον and Xen. *Hellen.* i. 2, 16, Ἀλιβιάδης δὲ ἐβίβασεν μέχρι σάβου ἀφέλατο.

429. See on l. 329. For the form of expression cp. *Od.* iii. 115, also *Il.* ii. 468.

431. μέγαμα—i.e. *μεγαμῆ*. So in *Prom.* 526.

433—471. To Atossa's exclamation of anguish the messenger answers that he has far worse to tell. This was the disaster of Pyttaleia. On this small island, a force of Persians, including some of their noblest born, was landed early in the day in order that they might kill any of the drowning Greeks who should try to make for it, and help any of their own friends to land. A vain venture; for a force of Greeks, swimming in full armour to the shore, surrounded the island and slaughtered all who were on it. Xerxes saw all from the height on which his throne was placed; and, rending his clothes, dismissed his land forces by the shortest way home.

This service, as Herodotus (*viii.* 95) tells us, was performed by Aristides, of whom Aeschylus was a warm admirer (see *Thuc.* 592), as well as a political adherent. If we take the poet's words quite literally, it would seem that some of the Greek sailors armed themselves on purpose and leaped over-



board, whereas, according to Herodotus, Aristides' party consisted of soldiers who had been stationed on the shore of Salamis. Otherwise the accounts agree.

433. κακῶν δὴ πύλαος—"Aye a very sea of ills". She takes up the words κακῶν πύλαος, and intensifies them.

With the image cp. *From.* 746

δοσχεμερὸν γε πύλαος ἀγῶνός δέης, also *Theb.* 758, and Hamlet's "a sea of troubles."

ἔργων—This part of the verb is often used metaphorically, of outbursts of passion or the like. Cp. *Soph. O. T.* 1280, and *From.* 852.

434. "To the Persians (proper), and to the whole race of the barbarians". For βαρβάρων see on l. 187.

436. ἐν' ἀπέναντι—*en'* with dative in its Homeric sense of "against". Cp. *From.* 1044, 1089.

συμφερόν τιθεῖς—See on l. 232.

438. "But what mishap &c." καὶ before an interrogative shows that objections are being taken to what the last speaker has said, cp. l. 237. Accordingly we find several of the words used by the Chorus repeated by Atossa: thus ἔλαθε συμφερόν in συμφερόν τιθεῖς, βρωγὴ in βρωγῶσαν, and the whole image of the balance.

440. βένουσαν ἐς τὰ μέσσονα—"leaning towards the greater weight of ills". The new calamity is supposed to fill one scale and to weigh it down, preponderating over those already mentioned. ἐς τὰ μέσσονα, lit. "in the direction of the more"; the article is frequently placed before comparatives, the greater being contrasted with the less as if they were two definite things. Cp. l. 708 ἡ μέσσον βίονος, *Agam.* 598 καὶ οὐ τὰ μέσσον μὲν τί θεῖ ὄ' ἐμὸν λῆγαν; *Soph. O. C.* 1211 ἔστυ τὸ πλῆθος χρεῖζι μέρου κ.τ.λ.

442. According to Plutarch three sons of Xerxes were among those landed on Psyttaleia. He adds that they were sacrificed alive, but we are glad to find inconsistencies in his statement which entitle us to dismiss it as baseless. The crasis in κατέφρασαν is unusual.

444. αλεχρῶς—This is the reading of the MSS. αλεχρῶς seems to be due to a transcriber who thought the other a strong word for a Persian to use. But Aeschylus is not careful to make his Persians speak consistently in character.

446. See on l. 333.

448. "Psyttaleia is precisely as Aeschylus has intimated, low, and unprovided even with such narrow creeks as afforded safety to the small vessels of the ancients. It is rocky, clothed

with shrubs, about a mile in length, and not more than two or three hundred yards broad" (*Leake*). Such an island might well be held sacred to Pan:

ὅτι πάντα λάβον κίβητα λίλογχε
καὶ κερυφᾶς ὄριον καὶ περὶφῶντα κέλευθα.

Homeric Hymn, XII. 6.

According to Pausanias wooden images of Pan were found in Psyttaleia in his own time. *Comp. Soph. Ajax* 696, where the sailors (natives of Salamis) call on Πάν ἀμύλαγγε; also *Herod.* vi. 106.

449. ἔμβαρτα—Cp. *Soph. O. C.* 678:

ἔν' ὁ βακχῶνας
δαὶ Διώνυσος ἔμβαρτα.

450. ἔσαν—*ἐκαστοῖατο*—"ἔσαν ante optativum ἐκαστοῖατο soleccum est. Scribendum igitur ἐν' ἐκ πρῶς". *Eilmaley Ed. Rev.* xvii. p. 286. This method of removing solecisms cannot now be adopted. The use of ἔσαν, where the structure of the sentence requires an optative, is rare. The words used by Xerxes might be πέρω ὑμᾶς, ἔστω, ἔσαν ἐχθροὶ νόσον ἐκαστοῖαται, κρείσσει ἀπέναντι. When this passes into oratio obliqua ἔστω κρείσσει becomes ἔστω κρείσσει· ἔσαν ἐκαστοῖαται should become ἐν' ἐκαστοῖαται, but a shade of meaning would thereby be lost which there is no regular means of replacing; and so ἔσαν is preserved. Mr Paley, who gives the equivalent in oratio recta quoted above, compares *Soph. Trach.* 164:

χρῆμα προδῆξας ἐν' ἑλίμωρον φιλί' ἐν
χάρας ἀνελὴ κἀναύσιος βεβῆς, κ.τ.λ.

Cp. also ἔσαν...*οἰκτο* in *Plato Rep.* p. 413 n. φθέρουθα is sometimes used of losing the way and specially of shipwreck. With the genitive πρῶς, cp. *Cho.* 289.

451. νῆσον—acc. governed by the general sense of "motion towards" in *ἐκαστοῖαται*.

454. Cp. l. 878. For ἰστροπῶν, i. e. "knowing by enquiry", cp. *Agam.* 676 and *Eum.* 456.

ἐν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.—Herodotus (viii. 95) agrees that it was late in the day that Aristides brought his men over to Psyttaleia. Cp. *ἀσθημερῶς* below, l. 456.

455. ἔσαν κίβητες—The phrase is Homeric. Cp. *Il.* viii. 216:

ἔτε εἰ Ζεὺς κίβητες ἔθεκε.

456. "Landing probably on the lee-side of the island, which is always accessible to a descent in moderate weather, the Greeks surrounded this select body of the enemy, and after having slain many with bows and arrows, destroyed the rest in a general assault, which occurred under the eyes of

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their sovereign, and of myriads of their countrymen on the adjacent shore of Attica" (Leake). The words of Aeschylus appear to imply that the sailors armed themselves and leapt overboard, but there is nothing inconsistent with the account of Herodotus: it was doubtless the poet's wish merely to indicate the exploit of Aristides, not to narrate it in detail.

458. κωλοῦντε (αἱ Ἕλληνες)... ἄσπ' ἀμυχανῶν (τοῦ Πέρσας). For the absence of augment see on l. 810.

460. There were a certain number of archers in the Athenian force. See on l. 879.

462. ἔξ ἑνὸς βόθου—"with one rush". For the use of *ἐκ* cp. l. 77 and *Cho.* 70.

464. ξηριόφθορον βίον—For the forcible simplicity of this expression cp. l. 871.

465. The ruggedness of the metre is not ill-suited to the feeling. See on l. 251, and cp. l. 479 below.

466. κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ σέβρῳ τῷ ἔστιν Σαλαμῶνος, τὸ καλέεται Ἀργαῖος (Herod. viii. 90). See Rawlinson's note, in which the exact position of Xerxes' seat is determined. The throne of Xerxes with silver feet was preserved for many years in the Acropolis. Plutarch also speaks of an "umbrella of gold", but we do not hear of its capture.

εὐαγγῆ (εἰ)—The adjective means properly pure, bright, hence used of objects clearly seen from afar, like εὐσπέρτες (and so Hesychius). Here it seems to be used with an inverted sei: "a seat from which all the host was before his eyes". Compare the use of εὐρύς in Soph. *Ant.* 1110, *O. C.* 1600. The word is examined at great length by Hermann.

παντὸς στρατοῦ—i. e. all his forces, both by land and sea.

467. πηλαγίας ἁλός—*CP.* l. 427.

468. βήξας δὲ πτόλους—See on l. 199.

469. See on l. 465.

ἄφρα—Homeric.

470. ἴησ'—i. e. ἀφίησι. "He sends them home".

ἀνέστηξεν ἔν φωνῇ—For the pleonastic use of *ἐν* see on l.

Herodotus (viii. 118) gives a less dramatic account: οἱ ἀμφὶ Σάρξην ἐπισχόμενοι ὄλιγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐξήλασαν εἰς Βουερόν.

472—514. Atossa upbraids the evil genius which had induced her son to make so ill-starred an attempt to red the losses of Marathon. She asks as to the remnant of the army. The answer is a short one, "they fled"; but the poet then gives the homeward course of the army; through

where they lost many by drought; through Phocis and Doris, by the waters of the Spercheius to a town of Thessaly, where again was a great loss by famine and drought; through Magnesia, into Macedonia, over the fords of the Axios, past the marsh of Bolbé, to the Edonian land and Mount Pangæus over on the further side of Strymon. "But in crossing Strymon we had great loss: for an early autumn frost froze its waters in one night, and men who never had prayed before thanked Heaven for this mercy. But when the sun was up the thin ice gave; only the foremost got safely over, and most perished miserably. We, the sorry remnant, crossed Thrace painfully, and have reached our homes". He adds that his tale is true, though but a fraction of the truth.

Herodotus' account of the return of Xerxes will be found in viii. 118—120. Five and forty days brought him back to the Hellespont with a mere fraction of his army (*ἀπέγνω τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος εἰς εἰπεῖν*). The remainder had died of hunger or of dysentery, having been compelled to live on grass and on the bark of trees where the corn failed. The historian makes no mention of the disaster at the Strymon. Aeschylus' account is on the face of it very improbable. Professor Rawlinson writes, "The freezing of the Strymon, a river 180 yards wide (Leake) at this part, in the latitude of Naples, and at the beginning of November—to drop all mention of the single night—is so improbable a circumstance, that we are warranted, on this ground alone, in rejecting it. The fact that a bridge of boats had been thrown across the river (Herod. vii. 24, 114) on the march into Greece, which remained under the protection of the garrison of Eion, and furnished a secure means of transit, is also of importance. It is very doubtful whether Aeschylus had any foundation at all for this poetic feature in his narrative; whether, having carried his hearers northwards to a sufficient distance from Athens, into regions with the very geography of which he was himself unacquainted (l. 496), he did not regard himself as at liberty to indulge his imagination in describing what he supposed to be a possible disaster". With regard to this conclusion, while it seems highly probable that Aeschylus had no historical foundation for the story, he may have received some geographical information as to the Strymon and its frosts (possibly from Hecataeus, see *Journal of Philology*, vol. viii. p. 148), of which he availed himself to construct the striking incident here recorded. It is worthy of notice that Herodotus mentions, though only to reject, an alternative account of Xerxes' return, according to which he took ship from Eion. The existence of such a story tends to show that some special disaster may have occurred on or near the Strymon.

[REDACTED]

Mr Grote (note on C. XL.) had also expressed his disbelief in this incident. He thinks that the statements of Aeschylus, even as to the sufferings by famine, must be taken with great allowance, and gives it as his opinion that the "whole narrative of the retreat bears the stamp of the poet and religious man, not of the historical witness".

The return of Xerxes soon became a common-place theme for moralisers. See Juvenal *Sat.* x. 178, and Mr Mayor's note.

473. *δαίμων*—see on l. 188, and op. ll. 845, 515. For the construction op. *Soph. Ajax*, 1892:

καὶ μὴ ἔφηνεν ἀπίθοι πολέ.

474. *κλεινὴν Ἀθηνῶν*—see on l. 231.

475. Cp. l. 244.

476. Cp. Herod. vii. 8, where Xerxes says: *μᾶλλον, ζεύξας τὴν Ἑλλησποντον, ἴδεν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Ἑδρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ αἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τιμωρήσομαι, ἃσα δὴ πεποιθήκει Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν.* The Persian loss at Marathon is given by Herodotus (vi. 17) at 6,400: it was made many times greater in other accounts.

478. *εἰδ' εἰπὶ ναῶν*—i. e. *περὶ τῶν ναῶν*. Cp. *Od.* xi. 178:

εἰπὶ δὲ μοι πατρὸς τε καὶ υἱέος κ.τ.λ.

and *Soph. O. T.* 700: *ἔρω... Κρέοντος, εἰδ' μοι βεβουλευκὸς ἔχει.*

479. *εἰσθε σημήναι τοῦτο*—cp. l. 295, and see on l. 384.

480. The messenger takes up his story, as though he had not been interrupted by Atossa's speech, though the word *ναῶν* shows that he is really answering her. A person striving to appear calm and collected might speak thus.

ταγέ—Cp. l. 23. *σείθεν*, op. *βαδύς*, l. 19; *σῦδην*, l. 54.

481. *κατ' ἄρουρον*—The wind had got up in the west during the afternoon (Herod. viii. 96). This is to be distinguished from the ordinary sea-breeze, which always got up in the afternoon. The words *κατ' ἄρουρον* are used metaphorically, *Theb.* 690, 854, meaning "with speed".

αἰρόνται φεύγειν—M. has *αἰρούνται*; but cp. *αἶρον στέλιν* in l. 795, also such expressions as *αἰρῆσθαι νεῖκος*, &c.

482. *στρατὸς δ' ἑλωπίης*—i. e. the main body of Xerxes' troops, exclusive of those left with Mardonius. See l. 796.

The sentence is not complete, there being nothing to answer to this *τε*.

483. *ἀμφὶ κρηναῶν γίνετο*—'for want of water'. Cp. *ἀμυγδαλέω* in l. 615; *ἀμυγδαλέω γίνετο* in *Agam.* 1891. *γίνετο* suggests the brightness and preciousness of water.

487. *Σπερχαῖος... ἐπιμύσει ποταμῷ*—The valley of the Spercheius, sixty miles in length, "is famed for the richness of its soil, the luxuriance of its pastures, and the variety and beauty of its woods and groves" (Wordsworth's *Greece*).

489. M. has *πόλις*, whence Tenffel reads *πόλιος*.

490. For the absence of augment see on l. 810.

495. As they must have crossed the Strymon to reach either the country of the Edones or Mt. Pangæus, the order of the narrative must not be too closely pressed. See above on l. 480.

νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ—i. e. on the night on which we reached the Strymon.

496. *χερῶν ἄρουρον*—See on l. 480, &c.

497. *ἀγνοῦ*—Perhaps because the Persians treated all rivers as sacred. But the epithet is often applied by Greek poets to water, fire, air.

498. *νεμίζων οὐδαμοῦ*—"reckoning nowhere" i. e. "making no account of". Cp. *Soph. Ant.* 183, *τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω*.

500. *θεοκλυτῶν*—Cp. *θεόκλυτοι λιταί*, *Theb.* 148.

501. *περὶ*—"it proceeds, i. e. attempts, to cross".

502. *πρὶν ἐκθεσθῆναι*—i. e. before the sun had power. So of the dawn in Homer, *Il.* xiii. 237, *ὄραρ δὲ αἰθέραται φῶς*. Cp. Herod. viii. 23, *ἄμα φλίγ σπιδναμένη*.

502. Observe the absence of caesura here and in l. 509, and see on l. 251 above.

505. *μέσον ὄρον διήκει*—"melted the passage at its midst".

506. For the absence of augment see on l. 810. In the confusion which followed the breaking up of the ice, those in rear pressed on those in front, and it was a choice between being drowned and being crushed.

εὐτύχη δὲ τοι—As in l. 245, *τοι* has its *gnomic* force. "Happy, as the phrase goes, was he whose breath of life was quickest parted from him". The words, which are imitated by Euripides (*Ion.* *Taur.* 974) suggest a violent death. M. has *εὐτυχίαι*: there is another well-supported reading, *εὐτυχίης δὲ τοι*, which is perhaps the best, as giving the words of the *γνώμη*.

508. *ἔρα δὲ λουρεῖ*—sc. *ψευ*.

509. See above on l. 508.

510. *ἤκουσεν*—The messenger speaks of himself as one of the force who have already reached their homes: he may be supposed to have hurried on to Susa to bear the news.

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οὐ πολλοὶ τινες—See on l. 472.

511. ἐφ' ἱστιούχων γαίαν—Cp. *Theb.* 73, καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους, also *Soph. Ant.* 1083.

ὡς—i.e. ὡστε. Cp. l. 437.

στενέειν... ποθοῦσαν—Cp. the first Choric Ode, l. 114 &c.

513. See on l. 330, l. 429.

515—531. The Chorus exclaim against the malignant deity. Atossa's thoughts turn back to her dream: too clear it was: too comfortable interpreters had the Chorus been. Nevertheless their advice has been given, and shall be followed. As bidden by them, she will withdraw and pray to the gods, and then will return, bringing due offerings for the dead. Let the Chorus confer with their fellows, and be ready to comfort Xerxes when he comes, lest in his misery he do something violent. Atossa, still mounted on her litter, re-enters the palace. The messenger also withdraws.

515. The Chorus have not spoken since Atossa first questioned the messenger at l. 290. She has now finished her questions, and there is a pause which enables them with propriety to speak.

δυσπότητε—καὶ χαλεποὺς τόνους ἡμῶν ἐμποιήσας says one Scholiast, *δυστυχίας αἴτιε* another. In *Soph. O. C.* 1614 the word means "hard-earned". Here it is perhaps assimilated in form to *δυσπάλαιστε* or some such word.

δαίμον—See on l. 158.

516. ἐνήλου—Cp. *Eum.* 368 where the word ἀλομένα (in the same tense) is used of the Erinnys swooping down upon her prey. *Agam.* 1472 should also be compared. Here the image is suggested to the Chorus by the vision of the hawk (l. 208) leaping on to its victim's back, which they had been so incompetent to read aright. And so Atossa understands their words. Some MSS. give the imperfect, ἐνήλλου. There is a verbal resemblance in *Soph. O. T.* 1311, ὡς δαίμον ὦ ἐνήλλου;

517. For the genitive cp. *Theb.* 597. See also above on l. 116.

518. ἐμφανής—Cp. *ἐναργής* in l. 179. The vision was all too clear, though her aged advisers had failed to read it.

519. For the absence of caesura see on l. 465.

520. i.e. in l. 215 &c. Cp. l. 226.

521. For the phrase cp. l. 227, where however the same verb is used transitively.

523. γῆ τε καὶ φθινοῖς—Cp. l. 220.

524. πύλαον—Cp. l. 204; also l. 610 &c.

525. "I know that I do but offer them when the deed is done and over"; i.e. that it is too late for them to avert the mischief. So *Soph. Ajax*, 377:

τί δῆτ' ἂν ἀλγοῖσι ἐπ' ἐξωργασμένους.

Cp. also *Agam.* 1387:

ἔστηκα δ' ἐνθ' ἔπαισ', ἐπ' ἐξωργασμένους.

527. M. gives ἡμάτ. For the use of ἐπι see last note.

528. πιστοῖσι πιστά—See on l. 2.

529. The messenger, who had crossed the Hellespont with Xerxes, having arrived, the king might, according to all dramatic propriety, be soon expected.

531. πρόσθηται κακόν—i.e. 'lay hands on himself' (middle voice).

532—597. The Chorus, during the absence of the queen, bewail the calamities which have befallen Persia: first in an anapaestic introduction, ll. 532—545, they describe the general mourning of the Persian women; and then they raise themselves the dirge: Asia is empty of her men whom Xerxes led out to destruction in ships over the sea—when had good King Darius ever done the like? Yes it was the ships, the ships! Hardly has the king made his way home through Thrace, the best-born of Persia are left perforce behind, tossed by the sea and gnawed by fishes! At home every house is in mourning, the old reverence too is broken up, men will not pay tribute or sink to earth as of old. All that once was Persia is left behind at Salamis!

The *κομμὴς* is contained in three pairs of strophes: the metre of the first pair is mainly Trochaic, each strophe ending with two "Pherecratean" lines; that of the second pair is "logaedic", i.e. consists of dactyls and trochees, except in the sixth line, which is formed of two iambic feet, and in the last which is formed of three trochees preceded by an iambus. The third pair is "logaedic", the dactyl prevailing.

532. We cannot decide what the missing syllable was. Perhaps δ' ἄν Ζεὺ βασιλεῦ, given by Turnebus, is the best; cp. ll. 628, 639, and *Cho.* 306.

535. Cp. l. 16.

537—540. The grief of the Persian women generally (the *γυναικοπληθῆς δμῖλος* of l. 122) is here described; in what follows that of the wives is specified. Hermann understands the first lines to refer to mothers only, comparing l. 63, where the mothers and wives of the slain are mentioned in that order. He even introduces the words *μαῖαι γονάδες*, of which

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he traces the remains in the reading of one MS. Hence he alters ἀραλαῖς to ἀραλαῖς (found in one MS.) as better expressing the tenderness of aged hands.

538. καταρεκόμενας—For the verb cp. l. 1060, and for the reading of garments in mourning cp. l. 125, *Cho.* 27, *Suppl.* 120.

540. Observe the monotonous recurrence of the *ov* sound. The expression ἀλοῦσι μετέχουσαι may seem somewhat unimpassioned, but the κομῶς itself does not begin till l. 548.

541. ἀβρόγιοι—cp. ἀβροπενθείς in l. 135 and that passage generally. Here the softness of Persian habits, and the copious, tender grief of the women are much dwelt upon. Thus we have ἀραλαῖς—ἀβρόγιοι—ἀβροχιτώνας—χλιδανῆς—ἀκορεστοτάτους. For the picture of desolated homes cp. *Agam.* 429, &c.

542. ποθέουσαι ἴδειν—The diphthong shortened before a vowel, as in epic verse. So in l. 39, l. 640, &c.

ἀρτιζυγίαν—i.e. "their young husbands". Cp. the compound μοῦσος in l. 139.

543. ἀβροχιτώνας—Cp. *Agam.* 690.

544. "having lost the joy of their delightful prime". This line explains the ground of ποθέουσαι above. Most books put a comma after τέρψιν, but it is simpler to make the two participles coordinate. Cp. *Agam.* 50—54.

545. ἀκορεστοτάτους—Hermann, dissatisfied with the superlative, and preferring a paroemiac verse here, would read ἀκορίστους. But this would give two paroemiacs in three lines.

546. καὶ γὰρ δεῖ—Cp. l. 261. "And I too (i.e. in accord with the mourning of the women) raise full loudly the sorrowful dirge for the death of those who are gone". The expression is a condensed one, as explained by the Scholiast, i.e. καὶ γὰρ δεῖ διὰ τὸν μῦθον τῶν οἰχομένων αἴρω καὶ κινῶ πολυπενθῆ δηλονότι γόον. With δοκίμως, i.e. "heartily" (Lat. "pro virili parte"), cp. l. 86, also Pind. *Nem.* iii. 18, δόκιμον ὕμνον. For the use of αἴρω cp. Aristoph. *Frogs*, 377, Ἄλλ' ἔμβα χύπως ἀρείς τὴν Σώτειραν γενναίως τῇ φωνῇ μολπάζων κ.τ.λ.

548. Here the Κομῶς proper, a lament for the dead, begins.

549. γὰρ Ἄειδος—See on l. 249.

550. Ἐρέτης—cp. l. 144. This boldness of speech as to the failures of Xerxes is perhaps not true to Oriental manners. See on l. 501.

552. "And Xerxes managed all things disastrously, with his ships upon the sea". As in l. 110, the complaint is that

Xerxes had imperilled Persian lives on this untried element. The strange-sounding word βάρης, properly a flat-bottomed Egyptian boat (so used several times in the *Suppliants*, cp. Herod. ii. 36), is meant to imply some scorn for this new venture. M. has βάριδές τε κόντιαι: but as ll. 552...561 were originally omitted, and are added in the margin, its authority is slighter than usual.

555. τότε—i.e. in his own day.

ἀβλαβῆς—Cp. πατὴρ ἀκακῆς in l. 664.

556. τόξαρχος—i.e. ἡγεμῶν τῶν τοξικωτάτων Περσῶν, Schol. See on l. 147.

557. ἄκτωρ—Cp. *Eum.* 399.

558. Darius was a harmless ruler, for it was all Xerxes and his ships which gathered together and ruined the host.

559. The poet pictures the fleet of dark-sailed ships all setting sail one way.

562. πανωλέθροισιν ἐμβολαῖς—Cp. ll. 409—415.

563. The ships were destroyed by mutual charges, but the Greeks were still the authors of the havoc. Ἰαόνων—The Athenians are specially intended. Cp. l. 178.

565. The construction resembles that in l. 189, but is more bold, as there is here nothing to govern the infinitive but a verb supplied out of the parenthesis. "Hardly did the king himself escape, as we hear".

567. δυσχίμους—The MSS. have δυσχημέρους.

568. τοὶ δ' ἄρα κ.τ.λ.—The thoughts of the Chorus travel back to those who did not return with the king. "So there they were left perforce".

568. Comparing this line with l. 576, we see that it is a syllable short, as the MS. is probably right in giving φεῦ in each case, the interjection corresponding throughout in strophe and antistrophe, and being hypermetric. Hermann gives—

τοὶ δ' ἄρα πρωτόμοιροι, φεῦ, and
γναπτόμενοι δὲ δίνα φεῦ

in l. 576, which may very well be right.

πρωτόμοιροι is the reading of most MSS. but not (Merkel) of M. The word in either form would mean "the first to meet their death".

570. ἀκνάς ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας—cp. l. 273. Κυχρεία was an old name of Salamis, from Κυχρεός, a national hero (Strabo, ix. 1).

571. Three syllables are wanting to the metre and a verb to the sense. Hermann has introduced ἔρραναί, a word which is found in several MSS. (not in M.) in l. 580, where it can



have no meaning. In this passage he would have it mean "have been submerged", lit. bedewed.

573. "Shout aloud over our woes till they reach the heaven". So *Suppl.* 808, *ὡς δ' ἀμφὸν οὐρανίαν*, also, probably, *Soph. Ajax* 196, *ἄταν οὐρανίαν φλέγων*. Others make *οὐράνια* mean "heaven sent" or "exceeding great". With the line generally cp. l. 636, which also illustrates the accumulation of adjectives here.

576. "And mangled as they toss upon the dreadful sea, they are torn by the voiceless children of the undefiled", i.e. by the fish.

The verb *κνάπτω* is literally 'to card', and the mangling of the bodies as they are tossed upon the sharp rocks is described. The sea is throughout represented as an element of terror to the Persians. See on l. 110. Hermann would read *κναπτόμενοι δὲ δίνω*. See on l. 568.

577. *ἀνάδων παίδων τὰς ἀμιάντων*—This is not in itself an Oriental expression, in the sense that it is (so far as we know) borrowed from any Oriental language. It belongs to the class of descriptive periphrases, of which l. 612, where the bee is called *ἡ ἀνθεμουργός*, is a simpler example. Such expressions are rare in epic poetry, except in the familiar instances of the names of gods, *ἐκέργος*, *ἀμφιγνήσις*, &c.; more frequent in didactic poetry, where picturesque equivalents of commonplace things have to be found, as *φερύκοικος* for a snail, *ἴβρις* for an ant, and the like. They are not metaphorical, for metaphor implies the *transferring* of a word from its proper use to a figurative one, thus *ἀλλεῖ ἴπποι* (*Hom. Od.* iv. 708) for ships is a metaphor; here an epithet literally belonging to the thing meant is used as a name for that thing. But the same discretion is required in the use of these figures as in that of metaphors; in excess they produce 'a riddle' (*Ar. Poet.* 22). Thus when Simonides (*Ar. Rhet.* iii. 2) called mules the "stormfooted children of horses", an expression parallel to those which we are considering, he was just as obscure and as artificial as Pindar is when he calls a cloak "a warm antidote of cold winds", a true metaphor. Simonides is justified by the cleverness with which he ignores the meaner parentage of the mules. "Voiceless children of the undefiled" is an expression which, pretty as the underlying idea is poetically, Aeschylus would not have put into the mouth of the ocean nymphs in the *Prometheus*, or of the Argive elders in the *Agamemnon*. With the extravagant, though monotonous, mode of speech of the Persians of the Chorus it is well enough in keeping.

With *ἀνάδων* cp. *ἔλλωψ*, of fish, and Horace's *mutis piscibus*.

579. As the news is brought to all the villages of Persia

by the survivors, now returning, each desolated home mourns for its man.

580. M. has

*τοκῆς δ' ἄπαιδες ἔραδαι-
μόνι ἄχη δά.*

Other MSS. have *ἔρρανται*. *ἔραδαι* might naturally be written *ἔρρανται* by copyists who remembered the form *ἔρράδαται*, especially if *ἔρρανται* had really occurred in l. 571; but it is not easy to see whence *ἔρα* got into the text.

584. "But they (the Persian subjects) through the length and breadth of the land will not much longer live under Persian laws". *ἔην* an epic particle, meaning "long time".

585. *περσονομοῦνται*—i.e. *περσο-ομῆσθαι μέλλουσι*. The fear expressed by the Chorus seems to have been anticipated by Atossa in l. 211, &c. Cp. l. 919.

588. The old ceremonial of bended knee and prostration will come to an end. That this should be matter of lamentation to the subjects would seem little less than grotesque to an Athenian. See on l. 153.

590. With this language contrast that of the Chorus of the *Choephoroe* (l. 54) speaking of Agamemnon's death:

*σέβας δ' ἄμαχον, ἀδάματον, ἀπόλεμον τὸ πρὶν
δὲ ὧτων φρονεῖ τε δαμάς περῶν
νῦν ἀφίσταται.*

Here, though Xerxes is still living, the "force of the monarchy" has been shattered by his folly and his reverses.

591. *γλώσσα—φυλακαῖς*—*Cl. Agam.* 235, where *φυλακαῖς* is used for a material gag.

593. *βάζαν*—i.e. *ὥστε βάξεν*. Exegetical infinitive, cp. l. 241. Certainly the Chorus had themselves set the example of free-speaking. Cp. l. 550.

594. *ζυγὸν ἀλκῆς*—"The yoke of (military) strength".

595—8. The general conclusion: "That blood-stained soil, the sea-girt isle of Ajax, holds buried all that once was Persia", i.e. men, customs, constitution. Porson would alter to *ἀρουραν*, "the isle with blood-reeking soil".

596. *περικλύστα*—again of islands in l. 879. The feminine termination seems to be used for the sake of the sound: cp. *παρακλύστας Cho.* 70, *εὐφιλήταν Theb.* 108.

598. i.e. "holds buried". With the thought cp. *Agam.* 452, *ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχουστας ἐκρυψεν*.

598—622. Atossa comes forth on foot and unattended, dressed in black, and bearing in her hand the due offerings

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for the dead, milk, honey, water, wine; also a branch of olive and flowers tied in garlands. Very simply she speaks, but with no loss of true dignity, as one who having passed her days in prosperity now feels that a single shock has made all darkness and bewilderment. Therefore she turns to the dead father of her child; while she is presenting the gifts let the Chorus raise a hymn which may summon him to the upper air.

The thought with which this speech opens, that of the suddenness with which evil comes, and of the thoroughness with which it at once pervades a whole life, is often repeated by the Greek Tragedians, as is the metaphor by which it is here conveyed. Cp. *Agam.* 1001, *Soph. O. C.* 1240, *Trach.* 112. The truth that wisdom comes by suffering, that *πάθος* leads to *μῦθος*, is often urged by Aeschylus, notably in *Agam.* 177. Here Atossa nobly avows that she has even already, while reeling beneath the shock, learnt much from this stern teacher.

598. *φῶς*.—Her first word is a gentle one.

ἔμπροσθεν.—M. reads *ἐμπροσθεν*, which would anticipate the metaphor of the next line: "Whoever is a passenger with a freight of evils". Other MSS. read *ἐμπροσθεν*; the Scholiasts are divided. It is at least safer to take the simpler word; which is also more in harmony with Atossa's quiet opening, and allows the metaphor to be more forcibly introduced by the word *κλύθω*. Nor is *ἐμπροσθεν* found in the sense which would have to be given to it here.

599. *ἐπίσταται* is followed (1) by the sentence introduced by *ὅτι*, (2) by the object clause *πεποιθέναι* (*βροτοίς*). Compare the double construction after *λέγουσι* in l. 764.

600. *πάντα θαυμάζων φοβέσθαι*.—The subject is *τις* supplied out of *βροτοίσι*, "one is wont to fear everything". Others make *θαυμάζων* equivalent to *φοβέσθαι*, though this sense is hardly found elsewhere, "all things make them afraid".

601. "But when fortune flows with favouring tide", &c. *πεποιθέναι*.—sc. *βροτοίς*.

602. *εὐρίαν*.—usually transitive, and probably so here, sc. *ἀνδράσι*. For the word cp. l. 481.

606. She is herself an example of this general truth. See above on l. 598. As she comes forth to pray, both sight and hearing are beset by terrors.

l. 604 is difficult. *ἑώρατα θεῶν* is taken to mean either 'the evils sent by the gods' or 'my prayer addressed to the gods'. Is it possible that it means 'the faces of the gods which meet my eyes', *ἑώρατα* being the adjective of *ὄρα* or

ὄρα (compare such phrases as *θεῶν ἐπαλλήκτους ὄρα*) and the reference being to images of the gods which either stood in front of the palace (cp. *Agam.* 508, *Cho.* 1) or were placed on the thymele?

605. *κλάδος ἐθ' ἰασηνός*.—"A shoot which has no healing in it". Cp. *Agam.* 1248:

ἀλλ' ἔστι Παιδὸν τῆδ' ἐπιστῆται λόγῳ.

As there is here the further meaning of "a shoot which is no Paean", we may compare such expressions as *καὶδὲ τῶδ' Ἐρμῶντος Ἀγ.* 645, or *καὶδὲ τοῦ θαυρότος Cho.* 151; i.e. no hymn of triumph, but a hymn of the Furies or a dirge.

606. *τοῖα*.—Such as to cause this bewilderment of eye and ear.

With this passage, describing the *ἐκπληξίς* wrought on an innocent person by a sudden visitation of heaven, it may be worth while to compare *Odyssey* xi. 845—857, where the amazement which fell upon the suitors while their wicked laughter was yet on their lips, is described in awful words.

607. *κλυθὼν τῆδ'—i.e. τόνδε σῶλω.*

ἔνεσ' ἔχηματων.—see on l. 150.

608. From *Cho.* 10 we infer that Atossa would now be dressed in a mourning robe of black: there Electra is attended by the Chorus of the play, here it would seem that Atossa bore the offerings in her own hands (l. 610).

609. *πρεπωμέναις χερσὶ*.—see on l. 220.

610. *ἔναρ νεκροῖσι μελικτήρια*.—cp. *Cho.* 16, *χεῖρας φέρουσα νεκροῖσι μελιγμάτα*. In *Odyssey* x. 518 Odysseus is directed to dig a trench,

*ἀμφ' ἀνῶν δὲ χερῶν χεῖσθαι πᾶσιν νεκροῖσιν,
πρῶτα μελικτῆρῳ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδὲ ὄνα,
τὸ τρίτω ἀδ' ὕδατι ἐπι δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλωσιν,*

cp. xi. 96. *μελικτῆρῳ* was a mixture of honey and milk, so that the offerings are the same as here (see on l. 616). In *Eur. Iph. Taur.* 160 the same four gifts are mentioned as the regular ones,

ἃ νεκροῖσι θελετήρια κῆναι.

611. *ἄγνη*.—i.e. unblemished.

612. *τῆς τ' ἀθμουργοῦ*.—see above on l. 576.

613. *λαβείων... μῆτρα*.—"Mixed with water-drops". When *μῆτρα* takes a dative it is usually of the plural, and the prepositional means "among". Cp. *Cho.* 265.

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615. *παλαιός*—By hypallage. It is really the wine which is to be old. *ἀμπέλου γάνος*—see on l. 483. In Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1321, Aeschylus is made to talk of *οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου*.

616. A branch, with berries on it, of the olive tree, the special pride of Athens. See Soph. *O. C.* 694. The olive-branch wreathed with wool was borne in the hand by suppliants, cp. *Eum.* 43, *Cho.* 1035. Others understand oil to be intended, as part of the *πέλασος*, but it would rather seem that the enumeration of the gifts to be poured out to the dead is complete at l. 615.

θαλλούσης βίον—i.e. "which lives a thriving life". *βίον* is accusative (not of duration of time) after the participle. Cp. Theocr. xxv. 16:

*ἔπει μελιγεία ποίην
λειμῶνες θαλλήουσα.*

The words describing the other gifts seem to imply *life*; as *παρθένου, μητρόν, τέκνα*.

617. *ξανθῆς*—Other epithets used of the olive are *χλωρῆ, γλαυκῆ*.

618. *ἀνθ' τε πλακτῶν*—In Soph. *El.* 894 we find flowers placed on a tomb:

*ὄρω κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας νεορρότους
πηγῆς γάλακτος καὶ περιστεφῆ κύκλω
πάντων ὄσ' ἔστιν ἀνθῶν θήκην πατρός.*

Cp. *στῆφῆ* in *Cho.* 95. Also Virg. *Aen.* 885, "manibus date lilia plenis".

619. "Do ye with holy voice speak the hymn to accompany these offerings, calling up Darius the god."

In *Cho.* 86, &c. Electra is weighed down by a doubt what words it would be *holy* for her to use as the offerings sent by her wicked mother are poured.

620. *δαίμονα*—cp. l. 643, and see on l. 157.

621. Observe that the suggestion that Darius be summoned from the dead comes from Atossa.

γαπῶτους—proleptic. "So that earth may drink them." Cp. *Cho.* 97 and 164.

622. *προπέψω*—Cp. *χοῆς προπομπῆς* in *Cho.* 23.

623—680. After a short anapaestic preface (ll. 623—632), in which the Chorus bid the queen see to her offerings while they pray the gods of the lower world to send the soul of Darius to the light, if haply he may tell them, as none else can, when these evils are to end, they begin the evocatory

hymn itself. This falls into three pairs of strophes, followed by an epodus:

- (1) a. Does he hear me, does he mark my cries?
b. O Earth, and gods of the shades, send up to us this royal Persian!
- (2) a. Aidoneus, send up our king, our only king,
b. Who never wrought us harm in life!
- (3) a. Show thyself old king on the summit of this thy tomb;
b. Come and hear this new tale of ill!

Epod. Old master, thy land is paying twice over the price of folly; these ships, these ships!

This "evocation" should be compared with the *ὑμνος δῆσμος* in the *Eumenides* (307—396), in which the Furies devote their victim to his doom, both being hymns sung with a definite religious purpose. Its language more nearly resembles that of the "Commos" in the *Choephorae* (ll. 306—478), in which Orestes, Electra, and the Chorus, standing around the tomb of Agamemnon, seek to rouse him to help in the work of vengeance and of family restoration. There, as here, the state of the dead is assumed to be one like that of men on earth, but feeble and bloodless. The passions and interests of life are continued, but in a faint and shadowy degree; the dead do not know what passes on earth, but are curious to learn it, and are mildly affected by the troubles of descendants or friends. Only the memory of what went before their own decease, the glories they had won, and the indignities they had suffered, seems to live on in them. In both plays much urgency is used, as though it were desired to make the tale of present woes reach the ears of a careless listener, penetrating that obstruction of death which the dull covering of earth laid upon their bodies figures to the senses. Hence the prayers of Orestes and Electra are spoken of as a "double scourge" by means of which they ply, with gradually increasing effect, the very tomb where Agamemnon lies; hence the iteration of Darius' praises, of the tale of the present woes of Persia. But Agamemnon is never asked to appear in bodily presence; he is only to cooperate, in some real but unseen manner, with his son. Here the actual appearance of Darius is sought and is obtained, for the purpose of advising his surviving queen and friends when they despaired of any other counsel being given. It would perhaps be difficult to parallel this "necromancy" from ancient Greek usage, and it can hardly fail to remind us of the raising at Endor of the dead Samuel, and of the repeated warnings addressed to Israel against "seeking to the dead". See also Lucan, end of Book vi.

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In the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus goes down to the lower world to take counsel of the soul of Teiresias the seer, we have much the same general picture of the state of the departed, and of the interest which they take in that which passes on earth. There is the soul of Odysseus' mother, who died of longing for his return to Ithaca, and longs still that he were returned; the soul of Achilles anxious to be told about his son, and chafing against the supremacy which he enjoys in that shadowy world; the soul of Ajax still brooding over the wrongs which had driven him to a self-sought death. The souls know Odysseus, and are known by him, though their bodily substance has been conquered by the fires of their funeral pile, whence the souls themselves flitted away "like a dream".

Pindar's picture of the condition of the dead in the Happy Isles, or in their place of punishment (*Ol. II.*), is not inconsistent with that given by Homer and Aeschylus; and the famous passage where Plato touches on the same subject presupposes such a view as the popular one. But for illustration of this play nothing can be of greater interest than the calm arguments of Aristotle writing more than a hundred years after Aeschylus.

Discussing Solon's famous saying that no man should be called happy till after his death, he raises the question how far the fortunes of friends on earth can affect the happy dead. "That the dead should be conscious of all these vicissitudes, and change their lot at every alternation of that of their friends, becoming at one moment happy, and at another wretched—that would be a monstrous fate. Yet assuredly it would be none the less monstrous if we took the other alternative, that the fortunes of descendants do not for the very least moment penetrate to ancestors." And he thus sums up the argument:

"Now in regard to the influence which the fortunes of our descendants and of our friends generally have upon the dead, to say that they do not contribute in any degree whatever to our condition hereafter is evidently a misanthropic view and repugnant to the beliefs of men.

"But as the fortunes which befall men are manifold and present all kinds of aspects, some reaching further home than others, to distinguish each kind in detail would evidently be a tedious and interminable task: it will be sufficient for our purpose if the distinction be drawn broadly and in outline.

"If therefore the case as it affects our friends is parallel to the case of the sorrows which befall one's own self, some things entailing heavy affliction and exerting a powerful influence upon life, whilst other trials resemble things of lighter burden; and if moreover afflictions differ severally on this point, whether they happen in the case of the living or of the

dead, the difference being much greater than that between horrors openly enacted and horrors assumed to have happened, on the stage, we must of course take these considerations into account in forming our judgment on the questions at issue. Perhaps, indeed, we ought rather to argue out the prior question which arises in regard to the departed, whether they continue or not to share in earthly good or evil. Looking at the arguments stated above, it would seem that even if anything does penetrate to the dead, whether good or evil, it does so in a degree trifling and slight (either absolutely or relatively to their condition); or if not that, yet it is only of so much consequence and of such a character as not to make happy those who are unhappy nor to take away their felicity from the blessed.

"To a certain extent, then, the fortunes of those they loved in life seem to contribute to the felicity of the departed; and their fortunes seem to detract from that felicity; yet only in such a manner and only to such a degree as not to render the happy unhappy, nor to produce any such absolute influence upon any lot."

(Aristotle's *Ethics*, Bk. I. cc. 10 & 11 translated by the late Rev. W. M. Hatch.)

623. *πρόσβος*—cp. *Agam.* 855, 1393, where the word is used of the Argive elders.

624. *πέμπε* answers to *προπέμψω* in l. 622. The idea is that the offerings will actually filter through the earth, and reach the abodes of the dead.

626. *φθμίνων πομπῶς*—specially *Hermes*. Cp. *Cho.* 124.

628. *ἄλλῃ*—used in prayers. See on l. 532.

629. See on l. 220.

βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων—cp. *Ἀϊτωεὺς* in l. 650.

630. *ψυχῆν*—i. e. the soul of Darius.

631. *πλέον* seems to be used pleonastically: "a remedy over and above the ills themselves". Cp. *Agam.* 199:

πικροῦ χεῖματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ,

i. e. a remedy other than the storm itself. Compare also *Agam.* 1299.

632. *τέρας*—an end to troubles which now seem *ἄερα*. The *τέρας* is in fact pronounced by Darius at l. 790 in a sense flattering to Hellas.

633. *ἰσοδαίμων*—i. e. Darius. Cp. l. 167.

634. The accumulation of adjectives in this passage must have had a grotesque effect. Cp. *Choeph.* 424. With *αὐανῆ* cp. l. 940.

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636. διαβόδω—“the conjunctive of the first aorist (the correct form of the future being διαβόδομαι)... This use of the conjunctive in interrogations is almost too common to require illustration. The meaning of the passage will then be: Must I persist in proclaiming my sorrows? or does he already hear me from the regions below? The preposition δια in the verb διαβόδω may mean either διαρρήδην, *diserte*, or διὰ τῶν οὐρανῶν, *usque ad finem*”. The late J. Wordsworth in *Phil. Mus.* i. p. 283. Hermann who quotes, but dissents from, the above, alters to διαβόδωαι (sc. τῶν ἀδρείων).

637. ἄρα—see on l. 348.

641. ἴσθ' αἰθ' αἰθ'—“assent to his going”. The words δαίμονα μεγαυχῆ... Σουσιγυγῆ θεῶν can hardly have been heard without a smile by Athenians.

645. “Send to the upper air one the like of whom Persian earth never yet covered.”

650. M. has ἦ φίλος ἀήρ, ἦ φίλος ἔχθρος. For ἔχθρος cp. l. 659 and *Chō.* 4.

651. οὐν ἀνακτα—“our only true king”, explained by l. 645. Some editions give οὐν, i.e. “what a king was he!” The form Δαρειῶν is repeated in ll. 662 and 671. It will be observed that this line does not quite correspond with l. 656 in the antistrophe.

652. The reason why he was called ἀβλαβής in l. 555 and ἀκακός in l. 671. Marathon and the Scythian disasters of Darius are ignored.

655. θεωμήτωρ—founded on Epic phrases, such as Διὶ μέγαν ἀτάλαντος, or θεῶν μέγιστον ἀτάλαντος.

656. ἔσκεν—a rare Epic form.

ἐποδῶν—usually taken, after Porson, to be the pluperfect of ἐποδῶν, i.e. “had led”. The original reading of M. was ἐποδῶν, which probably concealed an imperfect. Mr Paley proposes εἰ ἐπέκει. See on l. 651.

657. βαλῆν—explained by Hesychius to be a Phrygian word for “a king”, cp. Baal, Bel.

659. For the appearance of a ghost above his own tomb cp. *Eur. Hec.* l. 87 and l. 94. κέρυβεον—cp. l. 411. ἔχθου—cp. l. 649.

660. The dress of the Assyrian king, which appears to have been similar to that of his successors in the empire of the East, is described by Mr Layard (*Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh*, p. 97). He mentions particularly the conical mitre or tiara, and the sandals.

κροπίσαντες—yellow is said to have been the royal colour in Persia.

ἐμπρην (εἰ)—cp. βαρβάρους ἐμπρην in *Eur. Or.* 1370.

661. As the ghost ascended the κληματες χροπίων the apex of his tiara would be the first thing visible. This and the preceding line must be taken as separate prayers.

662. βόσκε—Epic form, cp. l. 654.

ἀκακός—cp. ἀβλαβής in l. 555 and l. 652.

665. καὶνῶν... νέω—perhaps “lately happened... new (to you)”. The mere repetition, however, would not be out of keeping with the style of speaking of this Chorus.

666. δέσπορα δασυτέρου—Probably an Oriental hyperbole, something like that in l. 681, though this use of the genitive singular cannot be paralleled. Others put a stop at δέσπορα, i.e. δέσπορα, φάριθι, ἔκως κλέβη ἔχει δασυτέρου.

669. Cp. *Eum.* 379.

670. νεολαία—“The youth of the city”. So in *Suppl.* 636.

674. The vocative as in *Virg. Aen.* ii. 283:

“quibus Hector ab oris

Expectate venis?”

and frequently in Persius.

675. The reading and sense of these lines is uncertain. Translate, “Why, O master, master, this double payment for folly falling upon all this thy land?” But M. has δέσπορα (i.e. δέσπορα?). The repetition of the εἰ sound is to be noticed. The double penalty was the destruction of fleet and army (see l. 728).

677. αἱ τριεκαταμῆες νῆες—A purposely clumsy periphrasis for the triremes (cp. l. 376, also l. 1074) which the Persians did not understand, and took to be the cause of all the mischief. “These three-tholed ships have perished utterly, and are ships no more, ships no more!” With νῆες ἀκακῶν cp. ἔδομα δῶρα, εἰς.; only here the adjective has a strongly predicative force, “are perished, so that they are no ships at all”. For the feeling about the sea and ships cp. l. 110.

681—700. The shade of Darius appears above his tomb wearing his well-known bodily form and dress. He first addresses himself to the Chorus, who are standing directly in front of the tomb, and asks what evil their cries and stamping on the earth and the offerings brought by Atossa portend. He must not tarry long, potentate though he be in the world below, and so he prays for a speedy answer. The Chorus, awed by the appearance of their ancient lord, stammer out a few words of terror. Atossa is in silent tears.

681. εἰ πιστὸν πιστῶν—For πιστὸν see on ll. 2, 171. The genitive is partitive: “O faithful of the faithful”. Cp. ἀρρητὸν ἀρρητῶν, *Soph. O. T.* 465, and κακὸν κακῶν, *O. C.* 1238.

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682. *Πέσσει*—cp. l. 140.
683. "It groans, and beats the breast, and tears up the plain." The subject to all the verbs is πένθος, the general grief of the people, as represented by the cries and stamping of the Chorus around his grave, being the first thing which Darius marks. The three verbs are usually taken with πένθος: "the plain groans, and is struck, and torn". But this involves the joining a word χαράσσειν, which is strictly appropriate to πένθος, with εὐνείν and εὐκέρειν, which are words in common use to express mourning generally.
684. Atossa is standing by the side of the tomb. Cp. l. 686.
685. τάρβη—i. e. "I fear that something must be wrong".
σπηνδαίης—See on l. 220, and cp. l. 609. The apathy of Darius had been pierced by the fear suggested by the presence of Atossa, since he knew that she was not one to be idly moved; and so he consented to receive the χῶμα.
686. The Chorus were standing around the tomb, which was probably represented by the thymele in the middle of the orchestra.
687. This line describes the loud wails, uttered with the purpose of raising the dead, of the last Choric ode. See on l. 623. ἀφαιζόντες—cp. l. 839.
688. εὐκέρειν—He pities their distress and importunity.
ἐντὶ δ' εὐκέρειν—Cp. *Agam.* 1019, and *Eum.* 647; also *Virg. Aen.* vi. 126.
689. ἄλλως τι πάντως—There is a quaintness and almost a touch of humour about the expression. Cp. *Prom.* 636, *Eum.* 726. "More by token as the gods below the earth are better at taking hold than at loosing."
691. ἐθροναστήριον—"having become a prince among them". With Darius' position in the lower world compare that said to be Agamemnon's due (*Cho.* 355):
κατὰ χθονὸς ἐμπρόσθεν
σεμνότητι δόκτωρ,
πρόβαλλός τε τῶν μεγίστων χθονίων ἐκείνῳ
and that of Achilles in *Odyssey*, xi. 485; also *Soph. El.* 839.
692. ἴσως—"Am come as you see". Cp. the first words of the ghost in *Eur. Hec.* 1.
ὡς ἄρα κεν εἶχον—"that I may have no blame as to the time I stay". The genitive is often attached to adjectives or verbs to define their scope, as in δ' ἔχρηλα τολῆς, *Eur. Alc.*

- 753, cp. *Agam.* 1300, and see on l. 162 of this play. But μίσσομαι, like verbs of accusing, sometimes takes a genitive as in *Theb.* 651, ὄφρον' ἀνέρι τῷδε κρυκτομάτῳ μίσην. With the desire of the ghost that the speakers will be brief, and his reason, compare the words of the ghost in *Hamlet*:
"My hour is almost come, &c."
and "Pity me not but lend thy serious hearing
To what I shall unfold."
693. νεοχῶδον—i. e. νέον. Cp. *Prom.* 149, and see on l. 10.
694. For the verbs in the middle voice see on l. 48. εἶδεν and εἶδῃσθαι do not commonly take an infinitive.
ἀντὶ λέγει εἶδεν—"to speak face to face with thee". In *Od.* xv. 377 ἀντὶ δειρομένη εἶπεν is "to speak in the presence of their mistress"; in *Il.* i. 230 εἶπεν ἀντὶ εἶπεν is "whoso contradicts thee", and this seems to be the meaning of ἀντὶ φάσθαι in 699.
696. ἀρχαίῳ περὶ τάρβη—Cp. περὶ φάσθαι in *Cho.* 35, also ἀμφὶ τάρβη in *Cho.* 537. Observe that it is the awe felt for Darius in life, and now revived, rather than any terror of his supernatural visit, which the Chorus express.
697. Agitated by the words of the Chorus, Darius proceeds in the trochaic tetrameter (see on l. 155), which is continued throughout the conversation with Atossa.
σοῖς γόοις—the wailings of the Chorus in the last ode, uttered with the direct purpose of raising Darius.
698. μακροτέρῃα—"a long, tedious tale". This word appears to be made up by Aeschylus to serve as an equivalent for μακρὸν, though the form would suggest the meaning of "one who lengthens out". See on l. 170. The word occurs in *Suppl.* 466, where however μακροτέρῃα should probably be read.
700. M. has δέλομαι, some other MSS. θέλω, which in Homer means "to pursue". Hence Hermann would read θέλω. If δέλομαι could stand as an equivalent of θέλω, it would give the best sense, and would be answered by θέω in l. 702.
χαρίσασθαι—cp. χαριτωλάσασθαι, *Prom.* 294.
ἀντὶ φάσθαι—see on l. 694.
701. λέγει—"by speaking". For the scorial part. cp. l. 294.
- 702—759. Finding that nothing can be got out of the Chorus, Darius turns to Atossa. She hails her old lord, and tells him at once that Persia is ruined. Successive questions draw out the details: she tells how Athens was the cause, rash Xerxes the leader, tells of the double host by land and by sea, of

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the bridge over the Hellespont, of the evil genius which prompted all. As he hears of the utter desolation of Susa and the Bactrian land, Darius groans. He asks eagerly as to Xerxes' return, and is assured that he has reached home in safety. He bursts into bitter reflections on the folly and rashness which have hurried on a catastrophe foretold in oracles, yet which might have been long postponed. Now what is to prevent his great store of wealth being prey to the first comer? Atossa excuses Xerxes as having been goaded on to the enterprise by the taunts of designing men.

702. *δῖος παλαῖον*—*sp. ἀρχαίη γάρβη* in l. 696. See also on l. 699.

σοὶ φρονῶν ἀθέσπαρα—"resists thee in thy mind". *φρονῶν*, a local genitive. Cp. *Cho.* 183, 896, and *Agam.* 481. Others would make *ἀθέσπαρα* govern a genitive like *καρτεῖν*, &c.

704. This address is meant to be reassuring. Cp. ll. 155, 623.

705. *σαφές τι*—As opposed to the broken utterances of the Chorus.

706. "Man's appointed troubles may, as we know, happen to mortals." For the gnomic *ταῖ* see on l. 245, and for the repetition of *ἐν* *sp.* l. 429. *ἀνθρώπειος* and *ἀνθρώπινος* are used in a number of phrases to express all that is incident to man as man. The use of *δὲ*, where *γάρ* would be logical, is *epic*. Cp. l. 13.

βροτοῖς—*emphatic*. Cp. l. 293.

707. *ἐκ θαλάσσης...ἐκ χέρσου*—i.e. from all quarters: the speaker does not yet know how nearly he is hitting the mark in *ἐκ θαλάσσης*.

708. *ὁ μάλιστα*—The use of the article with the comparative is idiomatic. See on l. 440. Here it denotes the longer possible, as opposed to the shorter possible, term of life.

The truth which Darius here urges is well illustrated by the whole of Solon's advice to Croesus (Herod. i. 82): thus *ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἔστιν βέλιν, τὰ μὴ τις ἰδέει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταχέων...ὅστις ὡς ὁ Κροῖστος, πάντες ἄνθρωποι συμφορῆ.* But we hardly expect this gentle wisdom from a great Eastern despot, even with the "melancholy grace" of the world of shades upon his lips, and may see in it a proof of the real greatness of character which belonged to Darius as conceived by our poet.

709. In the sense of "to excel", *ἐπιπέχω* more often takes a simple accusative or genitive. Here it seems to take both:

"O thou that didst hold thy bliss far above all mortals", as in the physical use of the word: *cp. Hom. Il. iii. 210:*

στάντων μὲν Μανθλαος ἐπιπέχων σόφους ἄνθρωπος.

Or perhaps "excelling the bliss of all mortals", i.e. excelling all mortals in point of bliss.

710. The relative gives the reason of his happiness.

711. *Πέρσαις*—"in the eyes of the Persians", ethical dative with the sentence generally.

712. Happy, because his state was fixed at death, and the disasters happening afterwards to sons or friends could but slightly affect it. See on l. 624. Cp. "Felix opportunitate mortis", *Tac. Agric. c. 45.*

713. *ἐν βραχέϊ χρόνῳ*—As he had requested. Cp. ll. 692, 698.

714. The answer is short and clear. See on l. 692.

δυσωπρόβηται—*sp.* ll. 260, 517. This terrible word is meant to be somewhat softened down by *ὡς εἰσὶν ἔθως.*

715. *σκηπτὸς*—Properly "a squall"; used metaphorically by Demosthenes (*De Cor.* 392) for a visitation. Cp. *ἐγκατέσκηψεν* in l. 514, also *Soph. O. T.* 26:

*ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς
σκήψας ἑλάνου λαμπρὸν ἔχθιστος πόνον.*

Although the preparations for the expedition which had ended thus disastrously were made by Darius himself, and that with a view of avenging Marathon, the whole story is here represented as being new to him; he only contemplates *home* troubles.

717. *ἑστέα*—*emphatic*. "Which of my sons had the folly to lead an army to Athens?"

Darius had four sons by Atossa, born after his own accession to the throne, and three by another wife born earlier. He had settled a dispute as to the succession in favour of Xerxes (Herod. vii. 8), Atossa being then all powerful with him.

718. *θεός τις Ἐφέτης*—*sp.* ll. 73, 754. *Θεός* is an Homeric epithet of *Ares*.

καύσας κ.τ.λ.—*sp.* l. 12 and l. 126.

719. *πῶς ἢ ναύτης* contain the pith of the question, and so precedes *δέ*.

πύραν τῆσ' ἐμάραν—A poetical variation on the regular cognate acc. *ἐμάραν τῆσ' ἡμῶν* or *ἐπιπέχω τῆσ' ἡμῶν*.

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721. *ὡς δὲ καὶ*—The position of *καὶ* shows that additional information is sought.

στρατὸς τεσσέρας περὶ—The army sent to Marathon is estimated (Rawlinson on Herod. vi. 117) at 210,000, including the crews of the transports. The numbers of Xerxes' land-force were, as taken at Doriscus, 1,700,000 (Herod. vii. 60).

ἦνυσεν παρᾶν—The construction is unusual. Cp. that in Soph. O. T. 720:

Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐκείνους ἦνυσεν
φοβία γινέσθαι παρᾶν.

722. Cp. l. 67.

723. "Do you mean to say that he did this thing, to shut up the great stream of Bosphorus?" For *καὶ* at the beginning of a question see on l. 237. *Βόσπορος* is apparently confounded with the Hellespont, as in Soph. Aj. 885. Cp. l. 746. *μέγαν*. The Homeric epithets *πλατὸς* and *ἀπείρων* are applied to the Hellespont regarded as a river, such being its appearance to one sailing on it. See Blakeley's Herodotus vii. 35.

724. *δαμόνιον...δαίμων*—Cp. ll. 354, 472.

726. "Yes (some powerful demon indeed), since one can see what evil result he worked."

727. "But what befel them over which ye thus make moan?" *ὑπέσσω* includes the idea of suffering, as in Ag. 1288.

728. As concise a statement of the disaster as any ghost could ask to have. Cp. Herod. viii. 68, when Artemisia, arguing against giving battle at Salamis, says: *ἦ δὲ ἀόριστα ἐπιτυχῶς ναυμαχεῖται, δαμάτω μὴ ἢ ναυτικῶς στρατὸς κακῶθαι τὸν περὶ προσήληφθαι*. For the narrative see above l. 465, &c.

729. For the position of *δὲ* cp. l. 719.

καταφθῆναι—"utterly"; said to be a poetical variety of *πάσθαι*. Cp. Soph. Aj. 916, also Aesch. Fragm. 151:

θεοὶ μὲν αἰτίαν φέει βροταῖς,
ὄντιν κακῶσαι δόμα καταφθῆναι ὄλα.

ἔσθι—emphatic. Cp. l. 148.

730. *κρηνηρίας*—cp. l. 118.

731. *ἀποργή*—"a force", as in Agam. 47, 78. Darius here groans over the wanton loss of Persian, as in l. 738 over that of Bactrian, lives.

732. *οὐδὲ τις γέρον*—"There is not so much as an old man left". The words explain *πανάλη*. This is Blomfield's interpretation, and seems far preferable to Hermann's "*Bactriarum...perit exercitus, neque ille imballis*".

733. *μύθεα*—i. e. Xerxes. *εἰαν εἶπ' ἤβην*—Since it included even the old men from the allied cities.

734. *μονάδα*—i. e. *μόνον*. The word is corrected in *εὐ* *ωλλῶν μέγα*. Cp. l. 510.

735. "—finished how, and in what end?"

So *τελευτῆ* is used of a tale: as in l. 787. Cp. Cho. 578, *καὶ τοὶ τελευτῆ καὶ παραοῦται λόγος*; The *εὐαγρία* of Xerxes is here, as in l. 737, the chief object of interest to Darius. See on l. 738.

736. For *μελεῖν* with an acc. cp. l. 809. With the latter part of the line cp. ll. 73 and 130.

γαῖν is introduced by Hermann in place of the MSS. *εἰ*. (It had been found in the margin of one MS.)

738. "Yes, a clear report makes this sure." *κρηταί* is often used of reports, &c.; the accusative here is of the result which the report goes to establish.

καὶ ἐν ἐπίστα—(so Dindorf for *γ' οὐκ ἐν ἐπίστα* of M.) These words are generally understood to mean, "And there is no question about that". This, however, is an unusual sense for the word, and the ordinary meaning is possibly the right one. Darius' great anxiety is lest Xerxes' delayed return should cause a *στάσις* at Susa, such a fear having been in his mind even before he heard of Salamis (see l. 715). Hence Atossa assures him Xerxes has certainly reached Asia, and there is so far no disturbance in Susa. But Darius' fear is still not removed (see l. 751), and he bursts out into an exclamation against the folly of his son.

739. With the use of *γε* in indignant outbursts cp. ll. 260, 1044. Here it also emphasizes *ταχέως*. Darius complains that the oracles were fulfilled so *speedily*.

χρησμένων πρᾶξε—"The working out of the oracles" such as that mentioned by Mardonius (Herod. ix. 42). *ἔστι λόγον εἰς χρεὸν ἔστι Πέρσας, ἀνικημένους εἰ τῆν Ἑλλάδα διακρίσσει τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τῆν διαπραγῆ ἀπολίσθαι πάντας*. Cp. vii. 6, where the prophecies of Onomacritus, by which Xerxes was persuaded to march to Greece, are detailed. It is thought that such prophecies may have been given in some detail in the first play of the Trilogy to which the *Persees* belonged.

740. *ἀντίκρηψεν*—So M.; others *ἐντίκρηψεν*. See on l. 715.

741. *εἰδὲ μακροῦ χρόνου*—Opp. to *ταχέως* in l. 739.

742. Cp. Aesch. Fragm. 277, *φιλῶ δὲ τὸ κλέωνται συνταξέω θεοί*; also Eur. Fragm. 436.

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744. *τῆς ἐξ καταβῆς*—cp. l. 373.
745. *δοῦναι... φέρειν*—"qui speraverit".
Ἐλλάττοντον ἰσθμὸν—cp. l. 71. *δορυμῆσιν*, i.e. the bridge.
 Cp. *ῥυθόν* in l. 72 and the expressions in l. 722, which, it should
 be remembered, was the first which Darius had heard of the
 matter. See, however, Herod. vii. 85, for the story of Xerxes
 punishing the Hellespont by lashes and fetters.
746. *Βόσπορον*—see on l. 723.
747. *καὶ πόρον μερεπτόμεναι*—"And set himself to fashion
 a new sort of highway"; i.e. instead of a highway for ships, he
 made it one for men and chariots. With the verb some uses
 of *καὶ τὴν* may be compared, as *Agam.* 1084, *Cho.* 492. *πίστας*,
 see on l. 745.
749. *θηγνῆς*—see on l. 157.
 For the position of *ἐτ* see on l. 719.
οὐκ εἰβουλίη—"in his ignorance".
750. *τῶν*—i.e. "in these things which he did". *τῶν* is
 nominative to an expected verb *ᾤ*, but the construction is
 changed. Cp. *Soph. Phil.* 116.
751. *πόνος*—(for which Dind. has *πόρος*). The wealth
 which my labour amassed. See *Choeph.* 137 and Conington's
 note 138. Cp. also l. 755 below, and for the nature of Darius'
 fear see on l. 738.
752. *τοῖς φεδάρωντος ἀπραγῆ*—pray for the first comer.
 Cp. *Μωσῶν λέγει* (*Dem. de Cor.* p. 248, and *Ar. Rhet.* i. 12), also
Soph. O. C. 752.
753. *τοῖς κακοῖς... ἀδούραϊν*—"those bad men". Herodo-
 tus (vii. 5, 6) especially mentions Mardonius as an ambitious
 and unscrupulous adviser of Xerxes in this matter, also the
 Alcandae and Pisistratidae, and Onomacritus.
754. *θεσίμης*—cp. l. 718.
755. *ξὶν αἰχμῇ*—see on l. 202. *ἔγω*, see on l. 372.
756. *ἐνθὸν αἰχμῶν*—"that he does his fighting indoors",
 i.e. sits inside with the women instead of going to the war.
ἐπιμάχης ἐν δόμοις, said by Pindar (*Ol.* xii. 14) of one
 who stays ingloriously at home, instead of winning prizes at
 Olympia, has something, though not quite, the same notion.
- 759—786. Darius indignantly exclaims against these bad
 advisers who have wrought no less a mischief than the un-
 doing of the Persian monarchy. He goes through the list of
 kings from the first, and appeals to the old men whether all

- taken together have caused so much misery as this hot-headed
 Xerxes.
759. *οὖν*—i.e. "by these mischievous advisers". That
 the pronoun refers to them is shewn by the word *κατὰ*.
 "Very well, then; they have managed to work a mischief too
 great ever to be forgotten." Grammatically it might possibly
 stand for the singular *αὐτῷ*. Cp. *Prom.* 9, &c.
761. *ἐκείνων*—Observe the Ionic form.
αὐτῶν—i.e. *ἐκείνων*, cp. l. 715.
762. *ἐξ ἧμερῆς*—"since the day when". For this epic form
 of the relative cp. l. 297.
763. Here M. has *Ἀσίδος*. Cp. ll. 249, 270.
μυλοτόφου—Archilochus (*Fr.* 22) gives the same epithet to
 Asia. The rich pasture lands of Lycia, &c. would suggest it to
 a Greek writer.
764. *κατὰ*—see on l. 23. The verb takes a genitive on
 the analogy of *ἀρχεω*, or as equivalent to *κατὰ ἐλθεω*. In *Theb.*
 58 we have *κατὰ ἔλθεω*, a transitive verb.
765. *Μήδης*—No king of this name is known to history;
 Aeschylus knew that a Median dynasty preceded that founded
 by the Persian Cyrus, and expressed the fact by naming an
 imaginary "Eponymus" of the Medes. History speaks uncer-
 tainly as to the immediate predecessor of Cyrus; according
 to Herodotus it was Astyages the son of Cyaxares; according to
 Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 5, 9) it was a second Cyaxares, a son of
 this Astyages. Certainly Aeschylus had not a clear idea as to
 the two kings named as Medus and his son. *ἡγεμῶν ἑταροῦ*,
 cp. l. 29.
766. *ἄλλος*—"second (in the list)"
τῶν ἑργῶν—i.e. that mentioned in ll. 763—4. The son con-
 solidated the empire which the father had won.
 There is an implied contrast to Xerxes and his want of
 guiding sense. It is suggested that Aeschylus may have
 imagined the name of this prince to have been *Ἀραφρόνης*,
 and wished to indicate the name by playing on it (*ὁ τῶν φρένας*
ἔχειν ἄφρονος) as he so often does upon the meaning of proper
 names.
767. *φασσεντόφου*—For the metaphor cp. *Agam.* 802, *ἐν*
πρωτόντα ἄλλα νέμων.
768. *ἐκ' αὐτοῦ*—i.e. from Medus.
769. *φάσκει*—cp. l. 743.
770. This and the following line are in contrast to the
 statement that Cyrus made peace for his friends; but there is



also, as shown by Mr Paley, an opposition between the two lines, and between the verbs *ἐκτρέφω* and *ἴσσω*. As in l. 46 Aeschylus was careful to show that the Ionian Greeks only served at Salamis under strong compulsion, so here he says that Cyrus originally annexed their country by force, not by persuasion. As many foreigners would be present at the performance of the play, and the subject was a tender one, it was especially necessary to spare their feelings.

772. *ὣς εὐφρον ἔβη*—"qua prudentia fuit", *ὣς* standing for *ἐν εὐφρον*. So *οἷος* in *Prom.* 909. With *εὐφρον* cp. *δυσφρόνως* above in l. 552. Again Xerxes suffers by the implied contrast.

773. *Κέρον...ωαῖς*—Cambyses. *τέτρατος*, i.e. in succession from Medus.

774. *Μάρδης*—a variety of *Συμπέδης*, the pretender who got possession of the throne on pretence of being the murdered brother of Cambyses, and so brought it back to the Medes, to whom he belonged. He is therefore called "a disgrace to his country". In the Behistun inscription his name is given Bard'iya.

775. *τὸν δὲ*—See on l. 198.

776. *Ἀφραφέρνης*—Probably the same as Intaphernes mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 70) as one of the seven conspirators against the pretended Smerdis. The name, as given in the Behistun inscription, is read Vindafrana.

777. *ἔην δὲσπέρω φθασίω*—i.e. the other six conspirators, of whom Darius himself was one. *οἷς τὸς ἕν χροῖος*, i.e. the murder of Smerdis.

778. This line must be given up, for nothing intervened between the success of the conspiracy and the accession of Darius, except the casting of lots indicated in the next line; nor is such a Maraphis known to history. It is possible that the line may be the remains of a passage which gave the names of the seven conspirators, *Μάρφης* having crept in by mistake, perhaps from the variants on *Μάρδης* in l. 774, and that it was written in its present context by some one who thought that *ἕκτος* meant "sixth in order of succession" (instead of "sixth conspirator"). But it is perhaps as probable that the line is a mere interpolation.

779. For the mode in which the seven conspirators settled which should be king, see Herod. iii. 84.

For *καλ...δὲ*—see on l. 546.

780. Notably in his Scythian expedition.

781. *σοῦτόσδε*—"so great as this".

782. *νῆς ἄν νῆν φρονέ*—So M. The Ionic forms are so

numerous in this play that it does not seem necessary to remove this one, as is done by most editors.

For the lengthening of a before *φρονέ* see Porson's note on Eur. *Orestes* 64, where he denies that any instance can be found of a short vowel at the end of a word lengthened by position, and therefore for *καθότις τρέφω* writes *καθότις τρέφω*. This note of Porson's formed one among many subjects of an interesting correspondence between C. J. Fox and Gilbert Wakefield, which will be found in the fourth volume of Lord Russell's life of the former.

782. This is rather hard measure for Xerxes, who was only carrying out the projects left unfinished by his father's death.

784. *εἰ σοφός*—the adverb is doubled for emphasis.

785. *ἄναγες ἡμῶς*—i.e. I and my predecessors from Medus downwards.

787—851. The Chorus have now found voice to speak, and they venture in their turn to ask Darius to come to the point, and tell them the best thing now to be done. The answer is, "never under any circumstances, or with any numbers, invade Hellas again. The very land fights against these great forces by starving them; nay, even of the force left with Mardonius but a poor remnant shall reach home. The most of them must meet by Asopus stream (at the battle of Plataea) the punishment due to their insolence and sacrilege, and serve for an example to future ages of the sure wrath of Heaven upon those who do such acts. Pride will work ruin, and Zeus will not clear the presumptuous". Darius then bids the old men teach these lessons to Xerxes; let Atossa go and meet her son, bearing due apparel for him, since he is coming in sorry plight, and a mother's comfort is the only one which will avail. For himself he must go back to the nether darkness. His farewell word to the old men is that they enjoy themselves, even in these evil days, since wealth can buy them no pleasures in the place whence he comes. The Chorus seem stupefied by the words of their old master: Atossa, no less grieved than they, bethinks her at once what may be done to spare her child disgrace; evil the days may be, but she will not forget her own. She retires into the palace to do as Darius had directed.

787. *τί εἶπ*—Op. *Theb.* 208, *Eum.* 902, where the same hiatus is found. With *καταστρέφας κ.τ.λ.*—Op. *καὶ τελευτῶν* in l. 785.

788. *ἐκ τούτων*—i.e. "given this bad case, how are we to make the best of it?" Op. *Prom.* 216.

790. *ὃ μὴ ἐπαρτέτασθ'*—The apodosis is *ἔπειτα δὲ τρέφω*. The following line contains a clause subordinate to the

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protasis of the main sentence; the whole would run more simply: *μή στρατεύσθε, μήδ' εἰ στρατεύμα πλείον ᾖ*. *εἰ* takes a subjunctive in Homer frequently; in the Tragedians more rarely; cp. *Esch.* 284, *Soph. Ant.* 710, *O. C.* 1448, and several lyric passages. Here the subjunctive is used because the contingency is a remote one; a prose writer would also have used the subjunctive, but with *εἰ* not with *εἰ*.

794. Here *M.* has *ὑπερέλευε*, other MSS. *ὑπερέβηεν*. The reading of the text is Hermann's. The rejoinder of the Chorus seems to make it certain that the point is the numbers of the invading army.

795. *εὐταλά*—explained by *λεπτόν*, "handy", because "picked". The words seem chosen to lead to a rejoinder as to Mardonius' force, which consisted of 800,000 picked men (*Herod.* VIII. 118).

εἰσόμεν—The first syllable appears to be lengthened as though by contraction from the future of *εἰσέρω*.

796. "Why not even the force which has now remained, &c." See on last line.

797. *νοστήμον σωτηρίας*—See on l. 261.

τὸν Ἑλλῆς περιβῶν—Cp. l. 71.

800. *πᾶσι γε πᾶσιν*—*γε* of rejoinder, when a general assent is given to the last speaker, with a special limitation. "Certainly all shall not escape, why only a few out of that great number shall escape".

εἰ τι πιστώσει κ.τ.λ.—Darius does not at first claim any supernatural power of prophecy, but refers to those oracles which were known to all, and points out that as some have come to pass so will all. And he lays more emphasis on the general laws of divine retribution than on specific prophecies. But in l. 809 he shows an acquaintance with the conduct of the invading army which strictly he should not have had, and in l. 817 he seems to prophesy in detail the battle of Plataea and its results.

802. *συμβαίον γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*—"For some do not come to pass and others fail", i. e. all are true or none. Cp. *Cho.* 900:

τὸ δὲ τὰ λεγὰ Δοξίου μαντεύματα;

where the argument is that you cannot comply with some of the commands of a god, yet not with all.

808. *κἀνὰ τὸ εὐνὴ*—i. e. if the truth stated in the last line be truth.

πᾶσις ἔκπερον—See on l. 795.

804. *λέγου—α. ὁ Ζήρην.*

805. Mardonius constructed a large fortified camp on the north side of the Asopus (*Herod.* IX. 15); his battle line on the day of Plataea was at first drawn up between this camp and the river.

πᾶσιν ἔρδα—Cp. l. 496.

807. *καπὼν ἔφισσα*—Cp. l. 881.

ἐπαμύνην πᾶσιν—Cp. *Prom.* 605. Here *πᾶσιν* is an epexegetical infinitive. See on l. 247.

809. *εἰ*—here used like *εἴρωε*. Cp. l. 745.

For *μολόντες* with acc. cp. l. 786.

810. *ῥέουσα πᾶσιν*—For the construction cp. *Cho.* 899; the verb is so used in Homer.

811. Cp. *Herod.* VIII. 109, where Themistocles says: *τῶδε γὰρ οὐκ ἦμᾶς καταργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄρμυε, εἰ ἐφθέγησαν ἄνθρωποι τῆς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεύσαι ἔσσοντα ἐνδοξοῦν τε καὶ ἀνάσθαι, θεοὶ τὰ ἴσα καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ ἐπιπέδῳ τε καὶ καταβύλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα, εἰ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίζουσι πῆδας τε καὶ ἄρμυε.*

Compare also *Agam.* 338 for the idea that a conquering army must respect the gods of the conquered country, also l. 527 for the actual treatment of the gods of Ilium by Agamemnon.

812. *φέρδην*—For the form of the adverb cp. II. 19, 54.

813. *ἔρδαντες...πᾶσιν*—Cp. *Agam.* 1564, *Cho.* 818, also *Agam.* 582:

*Ἰάδου γὰρ οὐτε συνελθὲς πόλις
ἔξοχεται τὸ ἔρμα τοῦ πᾶσιν πᾶσιν.*

814. *τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον*—i. e. *τὰ μὲν πᾶσιν τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον πᾶσιν*.

814. "Nor yet is there any solid base to our woes, but still do they well up". There is a difficulty as to the exact metaphor intended. In l. 815 the reading of the MSS. is *ἐκταυθίζουσα*. *ἐκταυθίζουσα* is "Schütz's most felicitous emendation" (*Conington, Ed. Rev.* 1854), and is thus explained by Schütz: "Imago petita est ex natura basis aut putel, qui non prius exhauritur quam ad fundum pervenerit". But this does not very well suit the usual meaning of *κρηπίς*. May not the image be from a piece of bog or quagmire, where it is impossible to get to a solid base, or to lay a solid structure, but water ever keeps welling up? So in *Cho.* 697, *Prom.* 264, mud stands for troubles. *κρηπίς*, used like Lat. *crepido*.

816. *τόσους γὰρ*—More simply *τόσους* or *τοσούτους* without *γὰρ*.

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πλάνας αἱματωφάνης—i.e. "a clot of blood of the slain". Cp. *Agam.* 204 παρθενωσφάγεται βέβροι. For πλάνας cp. *Eum.* 255.

817. Δαρίδης λόγχης ἔσω—In the battle of Plataea the larger share of the fighting fell to the Lacedaemonians (Herod. II. 70). But see on l. 188.

818. For the position of δὲ see on l. 719. The carnage in the battle of Plataea was enormous. Herodotus (l. e.) says that (leaving out of account the 40,000 men under Artabazus who returned with much suffering and loss by way of the Hellespont) only 8000 outlived the battle.

821. "For insolence sprouting up doth ever bear the full ear of woe, whence it doth reap a very harvest of tears". There is a verbal confusion in making the ὄβρις the subject both to ἐπέτρωνεν and to ἐξαιεῖ, but the image is not really obscured. Cp. *Thes.* 601 (if genuine):

ἀγρι εἶρουρα θάνατον ἐκακισίγεται.

For the truth that insolence is parent to woe, cp. among other passages *Agam.* 764, and *Soph. O. T.* 874. The aorist is gnomic.

823. The moral is twofold: (1) remember Athens, (2) restrain your greed of conquest. With the first part of this advice cp. Herod. v. 105, where Darius, having asked "Who the Athenians were?" is said to have ordered a slave to remind him three times daily: *Δάσκατα μέμνηο τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, but he does so in a very different sense now. See also on l. 231.

825. ὑπερφρονήσας... ἐπεσθῆς—Cp. the construction of the two participles in II. 468, 9.

τὴν παρόντα δαίμονα—"The fortune which he already has".

826. εἶβον ἐχέτη—Cp. the metaphor of l. 168.

827. τὸν is gnomic. See on l. 245. "Zeus, as 'all know, is set as the avenger of exceeding pride". For the thought cp. *Soph. Ant.* 126:

Ζεὺς γὰρ μεγάλης γλῶσσης κέκαστος
ὑπερχθάραι.

ὑπερκέκων—So the MSS. See on l. 342.

828. εὐδυνος—Cp. *Eum.* 373:

μέγας γὰρ Αἰδῆς ἰστίῃ εὐδυνος βροτοῖς.

829. σφαιροῦν ἀκρημένον—"Divinely warned to be prudent", i.e. by the words of Darius. Hermann understands the participle to mean the same as *κρήνεται*, i.e. "since it is your interest to be wise". Another reading, *ακρημένον*, is mentioned by the Scholiast, and might be taken as an absolute

case, like *σφαιροῦν ἀκρημένον* in *Agam.* 1620, "Since the word has been given to be prudent".

830. εὐλόγηται νοουτήμασι—Such as the Chorus, if we may judge by their behaviour throughout this play, would delight in instilling. The modern reader will perhaps think, not for the first time, of Polonius.

831. λήξαι—i.e. *δὲ* λήξαι. ὑπεκέρταται—See above on l. 827.

832. With this address to Atossa cp. *καὶ* *παρὰ*, said by her of Darius in l. 609.

833. κέκων—royal robes for Xerxes to put on in place of those he had rent.

834. πόνη—Adverbial (some editors give *παρὰ*). "For all about his person, in mourning for these ills, do the rending of his rich garments tear asunder the threads". Cp. the difficult passage in *Cho.* 27, and see Conington's note. For Xerxes rending his clothes cp. II. 199, 468.

839. γῆς ἐνδὲ ἴσθρον—"Down to the gloom of (within) the earth". For *ἐνδὲ* with acc. cp. l. 624.

840. ἐν κακοῖς ὄμοις—i.e. *καί* *ἐν* *κακοῖς*, cp. l. 295.

The last words of the ghost serve to bring the apathetic, self-indulgent temper of the old men into contrast with the vigorous character of Atossa. They are advised, with mild irony, to take, even *ἐν κακοῖς*, the pleasure which from day to day wealth can buy, for it can buy none in the world below. SAs bethinks herself at once of what is to be done to spare disgrace to that son whom she will not give up even *ἐν κακοῖς* (l. 851). The "Epicurean" advice given to the old men, which is familiar to us as pervading Horace's views of life (e.g. in *Odes* iv. 7), though as a serious principle it is indignantly rejected by the great Roman Epicurean (*Lucr.* III. 912), is most ironically worded in the *Book of Wisdom* (II. 5, 6): "For our time is a very shadow that passeth away: and after our end there is no returning... Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present, &c." Aeschylus had doubtless observed in the Persians this temper, which has never found a more impassioned expression than in the words of a Persian poet who lived 1500 years later (Omar Khayyám). That it was not unknown to Athenians—*ἐν κακοῖς*—may be seen from Thucydides' account of what happened in the Plague of Athens (II. 53). Its direct opposite has been expressed once for all by Virgil (*Aen.* I. 467).

842. πλοῦτες—The wealth of the barbarians is throughout the play held up to the contempt of Athenians. Here the ghost disappears. See on l. 681.



844. ἤγγρα—For the tense cp. l. 234.

845. ἃ βαίμων—Cp. ll. 472, 515.

847. ἀνύλαν—That described by Darius in l. 835. There is certainly something to raise a smile in this anticipation of the plight in which Xerxes will presently appear, even after his change of dress. But we see too a clear touch of human character. First Atossa's strong motherly feeling will not be prevented by fear of ridicule from shielding her son from disgrace even in outward things; secondly her woman's nature loves to turn to something which can be *done*; just as above (l. 521) she had accepted the advice of the Chorus, though her own judgment did not approve it, because it offered her something which might be done. Aeschylus in his characters of women often marks this trait.

849. κείνον—Cp. l. 833.

850. τὰς ἐπὶ—The elision of the *ι* of the dative singular is rare. Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 675, ἀργῆ' εἰς ἐθέρον ὠκῶν and O. C. 1436; also perhaps Hom. *Il.* i. 567. See also on l. 914 below.

851. This clearly is contrasted with ll. 840—2, as the words *ἔκαστος* show. See on l. 840. This line, so thoroughly characteristic of Atossa, forcibly concludes her speech, as she prepares to withdraw. Is it fanciful to suppose that there may have been a familiar sound in both passages to the audience who first heard the play? During the troubles through which Athens had passed, we may imagine a patriotic cry, "We will not, in evil times, give up our dear ones", which cheered them as they moved wives and children to Salamis, and prepared to do battle for altars and tombs; another cry (like that view already referred to as found among Athenians fifty years later), "Let us not, in evil times, lose the pleasure of the day, for our days are few".

853—906. The Chorus enlarge upon the memories of Darius and his reign, which his reappearance on earth has awakened. Persian armies were always successful, always came home unbroken. Then what an empire was his, and how easily won (the various countries and islands are enumerated, ending with the land of the Ionian Greeks). Now the old glories are all reversed by this blow upon the sea.

The reflections of the old men fall into an old-fashioned monotonous chant, not out of keeping with the character given to them throughout the play. There is doubtless a special appeal to the growing interest in geographical matters, which was now to be found among Athenians; in itself this Chorus seems somewhat bald and wanting in interest. It serves well to prepare the way for the entrance of Xerxes, and

to enhance the ludicrous effect of what passes between him and the Chorus.

The Ode consists of three pairs of strophes with an epodus. The metre throughout is logaoedic, the dactyl prevailing.

853. ἃ πῶτα—For the shortening of the diphthong see on l. 542.

ῥολισσενόμεν—Cp. Cho. 864; also the word Περσισσόμεν in l. 919 below.

855. ἀκάκας—Cp. l. 664.

856. ἰσίδεας—Cp. l. 80, l. 633.

857. εὐθεκίμους στρατῶν—The MSS. have the genitive, i.e. "we used to shew that we were the owners of a glorious army". For ἀποβαίνεσθαι in the sense required by the reading in the text, which is Hermann's, cp. *Æm.* 309.

νεμίσματα πύργων—M. has νόμιμα τὰ πύργων, the correction being Hermann's. The meaning appears to be "and custom, strong as towers, used to rule all". One Scholiast explains πύργων as meaning the laws which make cities strong.

860. ἐπείθεν—So the MSS. The singular is possibly right.

861. i.e. our wars were bloodless: we had only to make a display of our force, and to come back to our firesides prosperous and in good humour.

864. The same theme continued. Yes, how many cities did he take in these bloodless wars, never crossing the Halys (to attempt the Ionian Greeks). For the crossing of the Halys by Xerxes see Herod. vii. 36. It was on the eastern side of that river that his land-army was bidden to assemble. The Halys had been the eastern boundary of Croesus' dominions.

866. "Such as are the Acheloian cities near to the Strymonian Sea and to the Thracian dwellings". By Acheloian cities Aeschylus perhaps means islands near the mouth of the Strymon, such as Imbros, Thasos, &c. the word Achelous being used for water generally.

871. ἄμυνε τ' ἔκροτον—outside the Aegean Sea, i.e. going eastwards, towards the Hellespont (l. 875) and the Black Sea.

ῥοπιελαμίναι πύργων—"With towers built round them", i.e. *καὶ ἐκ πύργων ἀφύλακται*. The verb is used as a deponent after the analogy of *ἔνοσθε*, &c.

874. τῶς—i.e. Darius.

M. has ἐχόμενα, sc. εἰς; other MSS. have ἀχόμενα or ἀρχόμενα.

875. i.e. beginning with the Hellespont (and going eastwards). Ἐλλας πῶτα—Cp. l. 70.

878. στόμα Πόντου—i. e. the Thracian Bosphorus. Cp. Iuv. iv. 43, "torrentis ad ostia Ponti".

879. κατὰ πρῶν ἄλιον—Cp. l. 131. The words are used here in a different sense, though in what it is somewhat hard to determine. Perhaps the peninsula of Asia Minor generally is meant.

881. The account of the subjugation of these islands by Darius will be found in Herod. vi. 31.

889. ἀγγεῖα—“sea-girt”, with all its parts near the sea. Cp. Soph. *Ajax*, 134, where the same epithet is applied to Salamis, probably to the island. μεσάκτους—i. e. between Europe and Asia. The word is very rare.

892. Σαλαμῖνά τε—See note on l. 309.

897. “And he ruled the rich and populous cities in the Ionian portion by his own will”.

900. σφέτερος is sometimes used for the possessive of the singular pronoun, and so in *Agam.* 760. The meaning is that Darius had undisputed sway over the Ionian cities, without having to assert it by force of arms. ἐκράτει—So Herm. for MS. ἐκράτουν. For κλήρον see on l. 187.

901. ἀκάματον—*ā* as in Epic verse.

τευχηστῆρων—Cp. *Theb.* 644.

902. παρμίκτων—Cp. l. 52.

905. θεόπρεπτα—“Changed by the gods”. Cp. l. 941 (M. and other MSS. have θεόπρεπτα).

906. πλαγαῖσι ποντίαισιν—The adjective is emphatic. The disaster came from meddling with the sea.

906—end. Xerxes enters, not in rags, for that the taste of a Greek audience would not allow, and his mother's forethought had prevented, but no doubt looking woe-begone enough. He is ashamed to meet his countrymen, and wishes he were dead. The Chorus do not spare his feelings; they tax him with being the man who has “crowded Hades with Persians”, and proceed, Xerxes approving, to utter a lament for their dead countrymen, asking where each is. This dirge is carried on in strophe and antistrophe; there is absolutely no restraint or propriety observed, and the scene must have been nothing but ludicrous to any spectator. In fact the Tragedy came to an end with the retirement of Atossa, and we seem here to be reading an after-piece.

Doubtless there was a large part of the audience, that part for whose benefit the Satyric drama was retained, whom it was wise to conciliate by such an ending, lest they should be weary of the purely historical treatment, and also should think

that Aeschylus had done the Persians more than justice. The spirit in which they would receive this ending comes clearly out in the lines of Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1026—1029), where Aeschylus claims that in the *Persae* he had “glorified a noble action”, and Dionysus, speaking for the average spectator, remembers his exultation, and his delight at the gesticulations and cries of the Chorus. Perhaps we may compare those scenes of *Henry V.* where the Dauphin is made ridiculous, though only as a slight piece of by-play, whereas Xerxes' absurdities seem to form the climax of this play.

910. ἀτεκμαροτάτης—“Most unexpected”, cf. *Prom.* 336.

911. Σαζῶν ἐνβῆ—See on l. 515.

912. τί πάθω—What is to become of me? deliberative subjunctive, as often in Homer.

914. εἰδόντ—The accusative is occasionally found in such a sentence even where the dative is also used: cp. *Cho.* 409, and Soph. *EL* 479. See Conington's note on the former passage. Here εἰδόντ is in the acc., because it stands in the mind of the writer for the object of the sentence, though he has not completed the grammatical construction. It would be possible however for it to be the dative (see on l. 850). Xerxes was ashamed to meet the old men from the same cause which in Atossa's dream (l. 199) made him alarmed at seeing Darius.

919. Περσονόμου—Cp. ll. 585 and 853.

921. ἐπέκερεν—Cut short. The Homeric aorist is ἐπέκερσεν.

922. Here the Doric dialect is taken up as the Chorus prepare themselves for the dirge. “The land itself bewails the flower of its men slain by Xerxes, Xerxes who has crowded Hades with Persians”.

923. κταμέναν—The epic participle of the second aor. used passively. Cp. *Cho.* 806, and χόμενος in *Eum.* 263.

924. εἰδοβάται—sc. εἰδόν—“are gone down to Hades”. Here the MSS. have ἀγδαβάται, a word which occurs as a proper name in l. 959. The correction is Hermann's, who compares εἰδοβάται in l. 39 for the form, and εἰδοφαῖται, a word used by Aristophanes, for the sense.

926. τοξοδάμαντες—Cp. l. 26.

πάνυ γὰρ φύστις—The word φύστις does not occur elsewhere, but is said to mean a tribe, multitude. The conjecture of Franz, πάνυ παρφοῖς τις μυριάς ἀνδρῶν, which is to some extent supported by the use of παρφοῖς in the feminine in *Theb.* 535, is very ingenious, but the phrase would be as far-fetched as that of the text.

[REDACTED]

928. For the genitive see on l. 116.
929. ἐπὶ γόνυ κλάδου—Cp. *Agam.* 64, also Herod. vi. 27 ἢ ναυμαχίᾳ—ἐπὶ γόνυ τῆν πόλιν ἔβαλε.
931. Here the antistrophic arrangement begins, and is continued to the end of the play.
- αλακρός—Active in sense; cp. l. 1068.
933. εἰς—“And so I was born to be a bane, &c.”
935. “To greet thee on thy return I will utter that cry of ill, the sad sad wail of a Mariandyné mourner, a cry with the full tear”.
936. ἰδὲ, i. e. ἰωὴ—Cp. oracle in Herodotus i. 85, where the word is used of the cry of a child. κακομύθεον, formerly derived from μύθος, i. e. tuneless; but this is now considered impossible.
937. The Mariandyni (ῥ) were a people living on the Black Sea, who celebrated the dirge for a youth as the Greeks for Adonis. Cp. *Choeph.* 423, where two kinds of oriental mourners are named,
- ἰοφὰ κομῶν Ἄριον ἔν τε Κισσίας
νόμοις ἠλεμιστρίαις.
940. MSS. have καὶ παρόδοντες. αἰανῆ—Cp. l. 685.
941. Σαίμων—Cp. l. 158, and for the general thought l. 905. αἰ—i. e. “has turned back upon me” (not *iterum*); cp. l. 904.
944. “Yea, I will utter as thou biddest (καὶ) a sad and sorry wail, making mention of the woes which the people have suffered, which have smitten them by sea, woes of a land which mourns its children”.
- MSS. παρόδοντες. For what follows, which does not correspond to the strophe, Mr Paley reads νεοπαθεῖς εἶβον κ. τ. λ. (cp. νεοπαθεῖς in *Eum.* 514), the adjective having been written by successive copyists νεοπαθῆ (as from παθεῖ), λαοπαθῆ.
949. (The MSS. give these lines to the Chorus.) “Yea, ’twas the Ionians, the Ionians and the might of their ships, to which shifting victory passed over, which robbed us of our men, ravaging the night-black beach, the ill-starred headland”.
- Ἰόνων (ῥ)—A form of which there are but a few traces elsewhere.
950. ναύφακτος Ἄρης—Cp. l. 1027. ἐπεραλκίης is an Homeric epithet of victory.
952. νυχίαν—is perhaps used thus for dark, i. e. fatal.
- πλάκω—is variously taken of the surface of the sea, and

- of the land, i. e. Salamis. Hermann adopts from Pauw *μυχία πλάκω*, comparing *μυχία τε Πιρόπρωτις* in l. 875.
- καρπόμενος—perhaps as a mower mows a field.
954. “Shout aloud and ask about each one”. The Chorus call on one another to ask questions as to the lost Persian leaders. Hermann would take it passively: “allow thyself to be asked”, and so Tenfel. In the MSS. this line is given to Xerxes, but the arrangement of the antistrophe shews that this must be altered.
955. ῥ—See on l. 834.
957. If πῶν’ ἐκκεῖθεν was rightly taken above, we may suppose that the different names came in succession from different members of the Chorus upon the unfortunate monarch.
- Φαραβάκης—Cp. l. 81.
959. Ἀγδαβόνας—See on l. 924.
960. Σουσιωκόνης—Cp. l. 84. Ἀγδάβανα—Cp. l. 16 and l. 535, where the form Ἐαῖ is read.
961. Τυρίας—i. e. Phoenician. ἐκ ναδῶ—See on l. 805.
965. θάλλοντες—used intransitively. Cp. *κέρσων*, l. 810. Φαρνόςχος—Cp. l. 813. Ἀριόμαχος—Cp. ll. 83, 321. Δόλαιος—Cp. 806. Θάρβος—Cp. ll. 51, 323. Μασίοντες—Cp. l. 80. Ἀρτεβάρης—Cp. ll. 29, 302.
973. ἐπιπυρόμενος—(MSS. ἐπιπύρομαι). Acrist, as in l. 844.
974. ἀγγύλους—see on l. 87. For στεγναὶ applied to Athens cp. 286.
975. “All lie flapping as one (lit. with one flapping movement) and gasping, poor fellows, on the dry land”. For the metaphor taken from fish see on l. 424. For πνέει cp. *Theb.* 856 (of the clapping of hands).
980. The “eye of the king”, a certain officer by whose aid πῶντα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεσέειρε (Suidas). Xenophon also mentions the office.
981. “Him who did count by tens of thousands”. The substantive (for τετρακίς cp. *Eum.* 748) governs an accusative, as though it were a participle of the verb. So in *Olo.* 23 &c. The counting was actually done by tens of thousands. See Herod. vii. 60.
983. Σαράμα—(M. Σαράμα) Cp. 822.
989. ἰγγα—i. e. εἶδον. So ἐπὶ ἰγγῶν (lit. a love-charm) in *Prom.* 492.
991. εἰλανα—see on l. 854.

[REDACTED]

993. "Aye, and there is yet another whom we miss". Cp. l. 266 for *καὶ μὴ... γε*.
994. *μυρίωνταχρον*—Cp. l. 314.
999. *αὐχμᾶς ἀκρόσσεν*—Like the Homeric *δρος πάλαιος*.
1000. "I marvel, I marvel, that they do not follow about thy tented car". The reference is to the *ἀρμάμαξα*, a luxurious chariot in which Xerxes went forth to the war (Herod. vii. 41). The word *τραφον* (which had been taken by many editors as from *θάσσω*), is epic.
1002. *ἀγρόται*—So M. with a marginal *καὶ ἀκρόται*. Hence Hermann *ἀκρόται*, which suits the antistrophe l. 1007.
- 1005, 6. The reading of the text is that of all MSS. except that they give *ἴθε'* not *ἴθεσθ'*. If *δαρπύτων* is right, it must be pronounced as a trisyllable by synizesis (see on l. 81 and cp. l. 563). Dindorf *ἴαυπύτων*.
- εἶον δέδορκεν* "Aye—" "How grimly doth Ate look at us". So "Ἄρη δέδοραίνων, i. e. "looking warlike," *Theb.* 53, *ῥῶπ ἀφθαλμοῖσι δέδορκαί* Od. xix. 446. The Scholiast read *δέδορκεν*, though he interprets it otherwise. Hermann alters to *δέδορακεν*.
1007. So M. with a suggestion *δαίμωνος* in the margin. *ἀ' αἰώνας* is taken to mean "post longum tempus"; i. e. "such mishaps as only come at long intervals". Cp. l. 1002.
1013. *δυσκόλομεν*—"unhappy in war".
1014. "I have been smitten in so mighty an army". Xerxes speaks as though the army were a part of his person.
1015. M. has *μέγδα τε Περσῶν*.
1020. *τότε*—the MSS. have *τόδε*. The reading of the text, by which *εὐρετόθυμος* is made an adjective agreeing with *θραυπέος*, is Hermann's. If *εὐρετόθυμος* by itself meant a quiver, the question by which the Chorus interrupt Xerxes would have no point.
1023. "That is a little matter out of so much". Xerxes' childish helplessness is received very drily by the old men.
1025. *ἴαυον*—see on l. 950. Here the *α* is lengthened.
1027. "Wilt thou speak of the rout of the sea-fenced multitude?" *κατάπακρον θαλάσσης*—Cp. l. 250.
1028. For Xerxes rending his clothes when he saw the ruin of his fleet cp. l. 465 &c.
1030. "Oh but much more than *παραί*!" For *καὶ* in rejoinder see on l. 236.
1031. "Well here is *παραί* twice, three times if you will".
1034. "I am robbed of my attendants". *Χο.* "By the woes which befell thy friends upon the sea". Cp. l. 906. The

- Chorus at the end of the play move from the orchestra on to the stage, and follow Xerxes into the palace.
1038. *δαίμων*—The active voice is not usually found except in the sense of to moisten. The second *δαίμων* must be pronounced as a dissyllable by synizesis. Cp. l. 1006.
1041. Cp. Soph. *Ajax* 866 *ῥῶνος ῥῶνος ῥῶνος φέρε*, where however the syntax is more complete than in the text.
1042. *τοῖς*—Cp. l. 290.
1046. *ἔπειτα*—Strike (i. e. thy breast). Cp. *Theb.* 855. *ἐπὶ χέρον*—"to please me".
1052. *μύλαινα*—i. e. which leaves black bruises.
1058. *καταβῆτε τὸ Μύρμιον*—"and raise the Mysian wall". Cp. l. 937.
1055. *Χερ.* "And, I pray thee, tear the white hair of thy beard". *Χο.* "By fistfulls, by fistfulls, very sad and sorry"!
1059. For *καὶ* in rejoinder cp. l. 1030.
1068. *αἰκνύς*—Cp. l. 931.
1070. "Ah! Ah! The Persian land is sad to tread".
1073. *ἀσπρόβαται*—"Ye that walk delicately". See on l. 185. The Chorus is now forming into procession to escort their king.
1075. *πρωτολαμπεύω... βῆσαν*—See on ll. 554, 679.
1076. Xerxes enters the palace, followed by the Chorus moving slowly across the stage to the central door.

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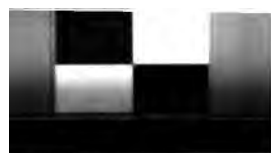
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